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Volume 1, Number 3

Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence

IN THE BUREAU OF INDEXES AND ARCHIVES OF THE

Department of State

WASHINGTON, D. C.

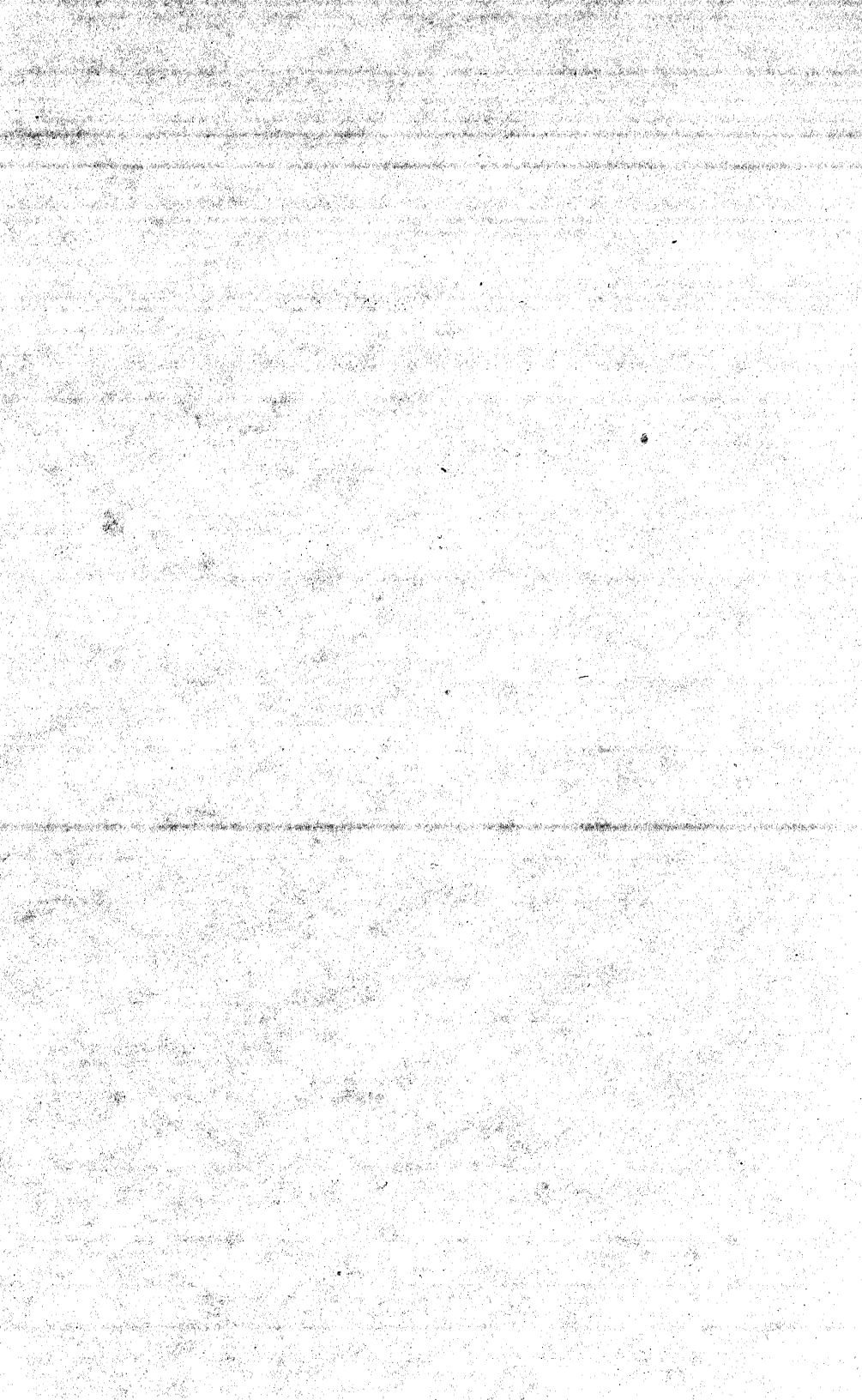
By

RALPH S. KUYKENDALL

Executive Secretary
Hawaiian Historical Commission



Printed by
Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd
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Publications of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii
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MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

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MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President.
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Honolulu, Hawaii,
September 25, 1926.

To His Excellency Governor W. R. Farrington:

The Historical Commission presents herewith an account of the Hawaiian diplomatic correspondence in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the Department of State, Washington, D. C., prepared by the Executive Secretary of the Commission on the basis of a personal examination made by him during the months of September, October, and November, 1925.

Respectfully submitted,

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION,

GEORGE R. CARTER, *President*,

MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, *Vice-President*,

K. C. LEEBRICK, *Secretary-Treasurer*.

PREFACE

The following account of the Hawaiian diplomatic correspondence in the State Department archives is based upon an examination made by the writer for the Historical Commission during the months of September, October, and November, 1925. In preparing the report, two objects have been kept in view: first, to give in small compass as much information as possible that would be useful to students; and second, to include material that would be of some interest to the general reader. For the latter purpose and to illustrate the character of the information contained in the correspondence, a large number of extracts have been included in the body of the report and in the appendix.

It has seemed desirable to include references to the correspondence printed in congressional documents and in the published volumes of diplomatic correspondence. This has been done so far as possible; it has not been possible to do so in all cases, for the reason that the sets of *Foreign Relations* in our local libraries are not quite complete; but the bulk of the published material is noted. For the period 1889-1895 the published material is so full and so accessible that it has not been thought necessary to analyze the correspondence in detail. For that period, reference has been made to the printed documents and attention called to such unpublished despatches and instructions as seemed to be worth noting.

I take pleasure in acknowledging the courtesies shown to me by various officials of the State Department, especially Mr. David A. Salmon, Chief of the Bureau of Indexes and Archives, and Dr. Tyler Dennett, Chief of the Division of Publications. I understood that these courtesies were intended not for me as an individual merely, but also for the Territory of Hawaii, of which I was a representative.

HAWAIIAN DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

In the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the
Department of State

I. INTRODUCTION

Regular and continuous diplomatic relations between the United States and Hawaii began in 1843 with the appointment of George Brown as Commissioner from the government of the United States to the Kingdom of Hawaii. Since 1820 there had been a United States Agent for Commerce and Seamen at the Sandwich Islands, but he had no diplomatic powers. At various times (first in 1840) the Hawaiian government sent special diplomatic agents, with various titles, to the United States, and from 1859 the Hawaiian Consul General at New York was for a long time regularly accredited as Charge d'Affaires; but the Hawaiian government did not station a permanent representative at Washington until 1877, when Elisha H. Allen was appointed Minister Resident.

The Hawaiian diplomatic correspondence at present in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the Department of State in Washington is contained in two sets of volumes which may, for convenience, be designated the *Department File* and the *Legation Archives*.

(a) *Department File*

This contains the correspondence which accumulated in the State Department between the Department and the United States diplomatic representative in Hawaii and between the Department and representatives of the Hawaiian government in the United States, and also communications addressed directly to the United States government by the Hawaiian government. It consists of the following series:

1. *Instructions*. Copies of letters from the Secretary of State to the United States diplomatic representative in Honolulu. All such communications, whether they are actual instructions or mere routine letters or acknowledgments, are technically known as instructions. The earliest Hawaiian instructions (1843-1847) are contained in a volume entitled *Special Missions, I*. Later

instructions (1848-1900) are contained in two volumes entitled *Hawaii Instructions, II and III*. This series does not contain copies of inclosures sent with the instructions. The instructions (originals) received in Honolulu, together with inclosures, are to be found in the Legation Archives.

2. *Despatches*. Original letters from the American diplomatic representative in Honolulu to the Secretary of State, together with inclosures. For the student of Hawaiian history this series is of great value. The despatches are often of considerable length and of the most unreserved and confidential character. The inclosures are frequently very voluminous, containing copies of private and official correspondence, newspapers, reports, etc. The series consists of thirty-four volumes (1843-1900). The first two volumes are marked "Sandwich Islands;" the others, "Hawaii." Drafts or letterpress copies of the despatches are to be found in the Legation Archives.

3. *Notes*. Communications to the Secretary of State of the United States from the Hawaiian diplomatic agent in Washington, from the Hawaiian Consul General residing in New York, and from the Hawaiian minister of foreign relations; includes also some memoranda of interviews between the Secretary of State and the Hawaiian minister in Washington, letters from private individuals, and a few miscellaneous documents bearing on Hawaiian affairs. The series consists of four volumes (1844-1897).

4. *Notes to*. Copies of communications from the Secretary of State to the Hawaiian diplomatic representative in the United States. One volume (1850-1898). Notes from January 15, 1850, to February 5, 1867, are also to be found (in what is probably an earlier copy) in a volume entitled *Notes to Haiti, Hawaii, Dominica, Liberia, I*.

(b) *Legation Archives*

These contain the correspondence which accumulated in the United States legation at Honolulu. When this legation was closed in 1900, the archives were boxed up and sent to Washington, where they were stored in a room in the basement of the building in which the State Department is housed. Recently they were brought to light again, taken out of the boxes, sorted out, and bound in volumes. They include the following series:

1. *Instructions*. The original instructions received from the Secretary of State, together with inclosures. The series consists of ten volumes (1843-1900), and is nearly complete so far as the

instructions are concerned, but a few of the inclosures are missing. The importance of this series is second only to that of the *Despatches* in the Department File.

2. *Notes from Hawaiian Government.* The substance of this series is summarized in the despatches to the Secretary of State; and much of it is inclosed with the despatches in the form of copies. Copies of these Notes are in the Archives of Hawaii. The series consists of ten volumes (1839-1900).

3. *Miscellaneous Letters Received.* This contains all the letters received except Instructions from the Secretary of State and Notes from the Hawaiian government. Far the greater part of them are reported upon or inclosed in the Despatches to the Secretary of State. By that means, some of these letters found their way into print. But there is a small amount of material which does not seem to have been transmitted, either in summary or in copies, to the Secretary of State. The most important item of this character discovered in the course of a rather careful examination of nine volumes of the series is a letter from Elisha H. Allen to Commissioner Luther Severance, dated Washington, June 24, 1851. Mr. Allen, who was at that time United States Consul at Honolulu, had gone to Washington with the proposition of the Hawaiian government for placing the Hawaiian Islands under the protection of the United States, to urge the acceptance of that offer. This letter gives an account of his interviews with Secretary of State Webster and others. The essential parts of it were printed in the Honolulu *Advertiser*, May 16, 1926.

4. *Miscellaneous Letters Sent.* Three volumes (1854-1900). For earlier letters, see *Press Copy Book*.

5. *Despatches to Department of State.* Eight volumes (1853-1899). For earlier despatches, see *Press Copy Book*.

6. *Correspondence with Hawaiian Government.* Three volumes (1853-1899). For earlier letters, see *Press Copy Book*.

7. *Press Copy Book.* For the first ten years after the establishment of the legation in Honolulu, all official letters written by the United States Commissioner were copied in a single series (*Press Copy Book*) by the letterpress process. The system was then changed, the letters being copied into record books in three series, *Despatches to Department of State*, *Correspondence with Hawaiian Government*, and *Miscellaneous Letters Sent*. The *Press Copy Books*, especially the earlier ones, are in a poor state of preservation, being somewhat worm-eaten and faded, but most of the writing can be made out. There are five volumes (1843-1853).

8. *Private and Official Interviews.* This material (in three volumes) is of the nature of a diary. The first volume covers in part the years 1843-1855, the record being distributed as follows: George Brown, Oct. 30, 1843-June 20, 1846 (pages 1-42); A. Ten Eyck, July 21-Sept. 28, 1846 (pages 43-53); Luther Severance, Jan. 12, 1851-Nov. 19, 1853 (pages 57-65); David L. Gregg, Jan. 20, 22, 1855 (pages 67-71). Most of the points touched are treated in the Despatches, but this record is a little less reserved, if that is possible, than the despatches. Brown's record is probably the most valuable in this volume. Volume II (131 pages) covers the entire period of Gregg's term as Commissioner, but is fullest for the earlier years. The record is similar to the diaries in the Gregg Collection (see *Report of the Historical Commission . . . for the two years ending December 31, 1924*). Volume III (about 150 pages used) covers in fragmentary fashion the years 1861-1868 (terms of Commissioners Dryer, McBride, and McCook). There is nothing of special importance, though the record for March-July, 1867, is of some interest in connection with the *Lackawanna* affair.

9. *Inventory . . .* One volume.

10. *Index.* Three volumes (1853-1900).

II. CORRESPONDENCE OF UNITED STATES DIPLO- MATIC REPRESENTATIVE IN HAWAII WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE

GEORGE BROWN, COMMISSIONER
(1843-1846)

(a) *Instructions*

The original instructions to Mr. Brown are in Legation Archives, Instructions, Vol. I. There are only six instructions, which are numbered 1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5. The Department File copies are in Special Missions, Vol. I (but only Nos. 1, 4, and 5 appear). Only No. 1, March 15, 1843 (by Webster), and No. 4, Jan. 20, 1845 (by Calhoun), are of any particular importance. These state the policy of the United States toward Hawaii. The pertinent parts of both are printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*.¹

(b) *Despatches*

Mr. Brown's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. I and III. He came to Hawaii by way of Panama and Tahiti and several of his despatches relate to conditions and events in those places (Nos. 1, 2, Panama; Nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, Tahiti). His arrival in Honolulu and official reception are described in No. 6, Nov. 4, 1843. Following the account of his official reception,² he goes on to say:

"The next evening I went with Mr. Judd, and had a private & unofficial interview with the King, and he confidentially gave me an account of his griefs. He also referred to the policy he intends to pursue. In regard to the leasing of lands to foreigners, he expressed his determination to be liberal. He should in a short time grant to those who had occupied and built upon lands, with only a verbal permission to do so—titles to the same, and should in a liberal manner make provision for those *respectable* foreigners who might wish to settle on the islands. He spoke of the laws now in force, as not being all that he could wish, and expressed his intention, on the return of his envoys to the U States & Europe, to revise the same and form an entire new code based upon those of the U States and Great Britain.

"He appeared to be satisfied with what Admiral Thomas had done, and trusted that the English government would do him full justice. He then informed me officially that he had appointed G. P. Judd Esqr. his

¹ In citing U. S. Government publications, an abbreviated form of reference will be used. Thus, *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77* means Senate Executive Document, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, No. 77. The volumes of published diplomatic correspondence will be cited by the title Foreign Relations followed by the year, but this will be abbreviated to the following form: *For. Rel. 1883*. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77* is reprinted in *For. Rel. 1894* (Appendix II).

² This part of the despatch is printed in Doc. No. 77.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to whom I was to address myself on any business relating to the affairs of his government & his [my] own. I was much pleased with his Majesty, who appears to be an intelligent and very kind hearted man, with every intention to do right.

"The appointment of Dr Judd will be rather a hard pill for the English residents to swallow, as having been the principal adviser of the government heretofore, he was a thorn in the side of Lord George Paulet & his abettors, who mortally hate him. But he is the best man the King could have appointed—Speaking the language fluently and writing it with ease, gentlemanly and mild in his deportment but firm in his actions, and having had the confidence of the King & Chiefs,—over whom he has great influence,—for a long time. The choice of the King could have fallen upon no better man. . . .

"I have had a number of conversations with Admiral Thomas, who is an honest, frank hearted, old fashioned Sailor. He appears to be well disposed towards this government, and speaks highly of the King. He called upon me today and spoke of the appointment of Dr. Judd, who he said was a good man and meant well, and was the best the King could have got. He also spoke of Lord George's doings, for the first time, and in terms of high disapprobation. He said that he knew before he left home that his government had no designs upon these islands."

It was not long before Mr. Brown became involved in controversies with the Hawaiian government, which caused him gradually to assume an attitude of hostility toward the principal officers of the King. In a private letter to Secretary of State Calhoun, dated Sept. 10, 1844, he says:

"This affair [of Wiley] . . . has given me a great deal of vexation, and I have done all in my power to keep off the evil day. I have been all along congratulating myself, that I had escaped so far, coming into collision with the present managers of this government, while the British Consul genl. has been in hot water the whole time, that he has been here. I was in hopes that Mess Richards & Haalilio would have returned long ere this, and that better counsels, would then prevail. At present, the King is completely under the guidance of Judd, and Judd completely under the thumb of Ricord. Everybody is disgusted. They appear (Judd & Ricord) to think that this nation is second to none on earth, and the airs they have put on, have made them appear ridiculous. Dr. Judd is not a bad man, far from it. I believe he has the interests of this people much at his heart, but he has little experience and Ricord who is a designing if not unprincipled man has got him entirely under his control."

In his No. 47, Oct. 13, 1845, Mr. Brown says:

"The King and his chiefs . . . would do right if let alone, I think; but they are surrounded by a set of imbeciles and rogues."

Mr. Brown was particularly bitter against Dr. Judd, Attorney General John Ricord, and James J. Jarves, editor of the *Poly-nesian*. The development of this feeling can be traced in the following despatches (those most important for this point are in italics): Nos. 11 (latter part), 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23,

24, 25, 26, 27, 28 (inclosures), 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 50, 51, 59.

Some of these despatches are long and treat of various matters. Inclosures are also very extensive; for instance, inclosures with No. 16 are about 45 pages; with No. 18, more than 150 pages; with No. 25, more than 200.

Mr. Brown's attitude was influenced by a number of cases of complaints and alleged grievances of American citizens against the Hawaiian government. The most notable of these were: (1) The affair of John Wiley (Nos. 16, 17, 32, 34, 54); (2) Case of James Gray, (25, 27); (3) Case of *Wilmington and Liverpool Packet* (23, 24); (4) Complaints and charges preferred by C. Brewer & Co. (24, 25, 27, and inclosures in 28, 33); (5) Affairs of Ladd & Co. (37, 62, 68); (6) Case of whaleship *California* (50, 51, and inclosures in 52); (7) Cases of several American sailors (55, 58, 60, 61).

One interesting point, the question of foreigners taking the oath of allegiance (becoming naturalized Hawaiian citizens), is discussed in No. 14 and in a private letter to Secretary of State Calhoun, July 2, 1844, and referred to in Nos. 20, 24.

In September, 1844 (see No. 18), Brown's recall was requested by King Kamehameha III, and in July, 1845 (see No. 34), he was interdicted from all correspondence with any department of the Hawaiian government. In September, 1845, he was recalled and Anthony Ten Eyck succeeded him as Commissioner.

ANTHONY TEN EYCK, COMMISSIONER (1845-1849)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions (original) to Ten Eyck are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I. Department File copies are in Special Missions, I, and Hawaii Instructions, II (only No. 7 of Aug. 28, 1848, is in the latter volume). The two series do not correspond. In the Department File there are four unnumbered letters from Secretary of State Buchanan to Ten Eyck, ranging in date from May 29 to Sept. 10, 1845, and seven numbered instructions (1-7). In the Legation Archives there are an extra No. 5, an extra No. 7, and also a No. 8. Ten Eyck's appointment was decided on within a few weeks after the beginning of President Polk's administration, but there was considerable delay in getting him to his post of duty. Only three of the instructions are of importance: No. 1, Sept. 10, 1845 (Brown's difficulties; policy of the United States; authority to negotiate

a treaty); No. 6, June 18, 1847 (denies request for leave to visit California and makes general observations); No. 7,¹ Aug. 28, 1848 (long instruction, severely censuring Ten Eyck's conduct; fully sustains rights of Hawaiian government as independent and sovereign; states policy of the United States).

(b) *Despatches*

The despatches of Ten Eyck (original) are in Legation Archives, Despatches, Vol. II. Ten Eyck arrived at Honolulu in June, 1846, and immediately assumed a critical attitude toward the Hawaiian government, an attitude which soon developed into one of bitter hostility. The spirit in which he began his mission is indicated in the following extract from his despatch No. 3, dated July 18, 1846:

"I have, impartially and with a perfectly unprejudiced eye, studied well the character of the men who control the Government of these Islands, & I have no hesitation in saying, that if the present Ministry (for the King has *five* Ministers, 4 white men & one half-cast,) remain in their places there will be constant trouble & difficulty between the Government & foreign residents.

"The King & his native chiefs are mere automatons in the hands of his Ministers. . . . Were you to live here, only as long as I now have, you would, like me, be very charitably disposed towards Mr. Brown, & would, in a measure, cease to wonder how he had become involved in so much difficulty with the Government."

The two matters with which Ten Eyck chiefly busied himself during his stay in Hawaii were:

(1) His attempt to negotiate a treaty. Despatches Nos. 5, 8, 12, 15, 17, 21 (inclosures only), 30, 34, 36.

(2) The affairs of Ladd & Co. Nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, 14, 15, 25 (very long and complete, with extensive inclosures), 26.

Some other topics discussed in his despatches are noted below. It should be observed that a single despatch may deal with several different subjects; also that mention of inclosures in some despatches is not to be understood as implying that other despatches do not have inclosures.

Favors joint agreement with France and England in regard to Hawaii (8, 12); Affairs in California and Oregon (39, 40); Grievances of American citizens (5, 17, 26); Land question and titles of American citizens to real estate (8, 21, 23, 30); Believes Wyllie secretly plays into the hands of England (12, 17, 35, 36, 45 and inclosed letter to Commodore T. A. C. Jones, Dec. 30, 1848); Criticism of Hawaiian officials (3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 23, 26, 34, 36, 42, 44, 52, 56); Criticism of Hawaiian

¹ A few meagre extracts are printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*.

laws (23, 24, 28); Complains about Consul Turrill (42, 47, 53, and inclosure in 29-B); Complains about U. S. Naval officers (42, 64); Thinks missionary influence has been used against him (42); Criticism of his successor (Eames) and treaty negotiated by him in San Francisco with Dr. Judd (63, 64); Citizenship question (in No. 44, Nov. 20, 1848, he says):

"The laws of this Kingdom provide that children of aliens, as well as naturalized & native subjects, born in this Kingdom, shall be considered as owing native allegiance to the King.

"Query—Are the children of our American missionaries, born here, & whose parents have not taken the oath of allegiance to this King, to be regarded as citizens of the U. States & entitled to the protection of the U. States Government? This is an important question to them & one which I wish the Attorney General of the U. S. to answer, under the authority of the President."

Ten Eyck complained bitterly about Secretary of State Buchanan's neglect of Hawaiian affairs and his failure to send instructions (15, 26, 42, 51, 55).

He repeatedly urged a more energetic policy toward Hawaii (7, 15, 26, 42, 44^{2nd}, and letter to President, Dec. 31, 1847).

In December, 1848, Ten Eyck was interdicted by the Hawaiian government from further intercourse with that government (No. 45), and in March, 1849, he received Buchanan's long instruction No. 7, censuring him for his course of action. Ten Eyck's reply to these two attacks is contained in his No. 47 (39 pages and extensive inclosures); in a letter (36 pages) to Commodore T. A. C. Jones, dated March 13, 1849, which he requested Jones to forward to the Secretary of State; and in his despatch No. 51 (70 pages). In his letter to Jones, he makes the following statement:

"In no other contentious matter [besides the Ladd affair] have I ever been engaged here, and never have I appeared as an *attorney*, or *lawyer*, or *advocate*, in any court of the country, altho' officers or partisans of this Government have represented, thro' the press in the U. States, to the contrary."

CHARLES EAMES, COMMISSIONER
(1849-1850)

Eames has the distinction of having drawn his salary as Commissioner to Hawaii and of having negotiated a treaty with that government (which was not, however, submitted to the Senate for approval) without visiting the country to which he was accredited. He came as far as San Francisco, where he found Dr. Judd (who was on his way to France), and the two negotiated a treaty. Eames thereupon considered the principal business of his mission at an end and sent in his resignation.

Copies of the instructions to Eames are in Department File, Hawaii Instructions, II. There are four instructions, but only No. 1 is important (general instruction, particularly with reference to negotiating a treaty; cultivate most friendly relations with the missionaries). Only No. 4 appears in the Legation Archives.

Eames' despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vol. IV. There are only four despatches, and only No. 1 (about the treaty negotiations) is of importance.

LUTHER SEVERANCE, COMMISSIONER
(1850-1853)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions (original) to Severance are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. Only three of the instructions are of importance: No. 2, July 20, 1850 (general instruction; ill feeling between naturalized subjects and aliens; personal resentment of previous Commissioners against the Hawaiian authorities; treaty recently concluded between the United States and Hawaii; affairs of Ladd & Co.; difficulties between French government and Hawaii); and the two well known instructions by Webster, dated July 14, 1851, called out by the proposal to place Hawaii under the protection of the United States. The latter two are printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*.

(b) *Despatches*

Severance's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vol. IV. His relations with the Hawaiian government were on an entirely different plane from those of his predecessors Brown and Ten Eyck. Severance was distinctly *persona grata*. There were three subjects of outstanding interest during his term which are dealt with in his despatches.

(1) The difficulties with France and the resulting proposal to place the islands under the protection of the United States (Nos. 5, 6,¹ 7, 8, 11, 14, 23).

(2) Threats and rumors of filibusters from California, and the *Game Cock* affair (26, 28, 29, 32, 41, 42, 43, 48, 49).

In No. 48, May 3, 1852, Severance says:

"The Hawaiians now look to us as their best friends, but if harassed by marauding expeditions from the American coast they will look elsewhere for friends, and bring the English more into favor, especially if the American government is not prompt to suppress such invasions."

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*.

(3) The political agitation of 1853 and movement for annexation to the United States (79, 88, 89 and inclosures, 90 and inclosures, 92, 93).

Following are some other topics referred to: Relations with France after 1851 (Nos. 47, 51, 64, 65, 67^{1st}, 85); Relations with Great Britain (15, 16, 18, 24); Claims of Ladd & Co. (25, 30, 33, 80); Proposal for a reciprocity treaty with the United States (38, 39, 40, 41, 50, 66); Islands of Pacific as fields for exploitation (17, 65, 81, 83, 84); Mormons (22, 76, 85); Sailors' riots (60, 97, 98).

In No. 18, July 31, 1851, Severance says:

"I think the King and chiefs now have a strong hope that the British gov't will prevail on the French to make [an equitable treaty with Hawaii] and in that hope they will seek delay in [regard to the proposal to place the islands under the protection of the United States.] It will not be well to show too much eagerness on our part, and if matters cannot be readily arranged with their free consent at once, we may find it necessary to wait the progress of events. The discovery of gold in Australia will carry British emigration in that direction, leaving Americans to come here. Lately, until this discovery, great numbers of Sidney people have been coming here. They would soon have been a majority of the white population, and though not particularly loyal to the British government, they are not the people most wanted here or most to be relied on for moral or political influences. Now the immigration will be mostly from California."

In No. 52, June 30, 1852, Severance makes the following statement:

"The customary rate of interest here is 12 per cent, and money is lent to chiefs and others on mortgage of their lands for 2 and sometimes 2½ per cent per month. Their extensive domains will soon go out of their hands at that rate. The king too is in debt, and perhaps partly in consideration of his signing the new constitution prepared for him, the two houses of Parliament have voted him for this year no less than \$20,000 for his private purse."

DAVID L. GREGG, COMMISSIONER
(1853-1858)

The records show that Shelton F. Leake, of Virginia, was appointed Commissioner to Hawaii by President Pierce in May, 1853. Mr. Leake, however, declined the appointment, and David L. Gregg, of Illinois, was then appointed to the position.

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Gregg (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. Following are the only ones of importance:

No. 2, Sept. 22, 1853 (policy of the United States toward Hawaii); No. 6,¹ April 4, 1854, and No. 12,¹ Jan. 31, 1855 (annexation question); No. 9, Oct. 2, 1854 (U. S. hospitals in Hawaii and disbursements for distressed and invalid seamen; instruction to investigate supposed abuses); No. 10, Oct. 18, 1854, and No. 24, Aug. 29, 1856 (neutral rights in time of war); No. 19, Jan. 3, 1856 (international postal arrangements; conduct of Capt. T. A. C. Jones while at Hawaii in 1826); No. 27, Oct. 30, 1856, also relates to the Jones matter; and No. 28, Nov. 1, 1856, relates to postal arrangements; No. 22, March 8, 1856 (case of George Bailey); No. 25, Oct. 2, 1856 (question of protection to Hawaii by United States, Great Britain, and France).

(b) *Despatches*

Gregg's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. V (Nos. 1-64), VI (65-134), VII (135-193), and VIII (194-264). During the first year of his residence in Honolulu, Gregg's attention was engrossed with the annexation question and nearly all his despatches during that period, which are of any importance, relate to that question directly or indirectly. The subject may be followed through the following despatches (more important ones in italics): Nos. 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48,² 49, 50, 51,² 52,² and inclosures, 54,² 57, 58, 64² and *inclosures*, 69, 70, 79, 161.

These despatches average about six pages in length. With the question of annexation were involved the activities of the "Committee of Thirteen," rumors of filibusters, and the efforts of the representatives of England and France to weaken American influence and prevent annexation; and each of these points is referred to in several of the despatches enumerated. In No. 38, May 25, 1854, Gregg makes the following statement:

"The convictions of the King that the best interests of his country demand its incorporation with the United States, are as strong as ever. Judge Lee told me to-day, that in a recent conversation with him, the King expressed in the most positive terms, his anxiety to bring about 'annexation' as soon as possible, but at the same time, remarked that Liholiho, his 'keiki' (child) was more interested than himself, and must be made satisfied with any steps that might be taken."

A curious sidelight on the annexation movement is given in No. 120. The conflict between American interests and influence and those of Great Britain (in particular) and France is referred

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-45*, which is reprinted in *For. Rel. 1894* (Appendix II).

² Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-45*. Parts omitted in printing are not important.

to in Nos. 81, 90, 107, 111, 156, 157, 163, 164, 165, 171, 173, 174, 203, 207, 224, 239, 244. In two cases Mr. Gregg exerted himself with special energy in defence of Americans: one being the conduct of Captain T. A. C. Jones in Hawaii in 1826, about which Mr. Wyllie had made some disparaging remarks in one of his reports (125, 144, 158, 164, 169, 177); the other being the case of George Bailey (128, 131, 139, 145, 168, 169). In these, and other minor matters, Gregg came into collision with Mr. Wyllie, whom he found a difficult person to deal with. In No. 177, Aug. 20, 1856, he says:

"There never was a man more difficult to deal with than Mr. Wyllie. As nearly all my correspondence with him will show, he hates a direct issue as he does the pestilence, and looks upon evasion, equivocation and subterfuge, as the grand weapons of diplomacy. The only way to manage him successfully is to drive him into a corner and there hold him fast until he comes up to the rule of fair argument. This he will generally do upon compulsion, though scarcely ever with a free will."

Gregg also accused Wyllie of British leanings (212 and elsewhere). But his final estimate of him was much more favorable (262).

After the death of Kamehameha III and accession of Kamehameha IV (61,³ 62, 63, 64,³ 66, 67), the Hawaiian government desired to secure a tri-partite guarantee of independence from the United States, Great Britain, and France (60, 64,³ 69, 70, 72, 166). An attempt was also made to secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States (75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 113, 118, 161).

Other topics referred to: Relations with France (Nos. 40, 88, 91, 97, 98, 111, 119, 205, 236, 246); Neutral rights in time of war (80, 86, 212, 215, 229); Abuses in disbursements for distressed and invalid seamen (89, 102, 184, 231, 234); International postal arrangements (124, 175, 179, 211); Charter for Methodist church in Honolulu (146, 151); Guano islands (208, 209, 216, 231½, 254); Whaling (27, 73, 112, 127, 135, 188, 190, 201, 219, 226, 241, 248); Sugar industry (12 and inclosure); Coffee industry (14 and inclosure); Claim of Ladd & Co. (19 and inclosure); General account of the islands (18); Schools (31); Finances of kingdom (88, 103, 164, 170, 187, 193, 203); Kauai and native life (94); Native chiefs (101, 233).

Gregg was a voluminous writer of despatches, as the extent of his correspondence shows. There is considerable repetition and not a little casual gossip which must be used with some caution. Extracts from a number of his despatches are printed in the *Report of the Historical Commission . . . for the two years ending December 31, 1924.*

³ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52-2-45.

JAMES W. BORDEN, COMMISSIONER
(1858-1861)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Borden (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. Those of importance are: No. 1, Feb. 26, 1858 (relations of U. S. with Hawaii); No. 3, Oct. 15, 1858 (possession of Johnson's Islands); No. 5, March 2, 1859, and No. 6, April 18, 1859 (relations between Hawaii and France); No. 7, May 19, 1859 (abuses in disbursements for relief of destitute and invalid seamen; Nos. 8 and 11 reenforce this, and No. 15 has a bearing on it).

(b) *Despatches*

The despatches of Borden (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vol. IX. There is not much of general interest and importance in these despatches. The principal points are: Relations between Hawaii and France (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 18); Another attempt to secure a general guarantee of Hawaiian independence (38); Abuses in disbursements for relief of destitute and invalid seamen (19, 23, 25, 28, April 27, 1860, 29, June 24, 1860, 31, Sept. 8, 1860, 35, 36 and inclosures, 40); Guano islands 3, 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18, 23); Shooting of Neilson by the King (21, 22); Whaling (5, 8, 12, 22, 25, 31, Sept. 8, 1860, 36). In No. 36, Jan. 22, 1861, Mr. Borden says:

"You will observe that there has been a gradual but steady decline for some years past, not only in the number of vessels engaged in the whaling business but in the average quantity of Oil and bone taken by each vessel. This combined with the decrease of the population of the Islands and other causes is producing a very perceptible effect on the trade and commerce of the Islands. But it is gratifying to see, notwithstanding this decline, that American interest still maintains its long established preponderance in the commercial transactions of this Kingdom."

THOMAS J. DRYER, COMMISSIONER
(1861-1863)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Dryer (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. None of the instructions are of much importance. No. 5, July 9, 1862, and No. 9, Dec. 29, 1862, relate to changes in the system of caring for destitute and invalid seamen.

(b) *Despatches*

Dryer's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vol. X. They are not, on the whole, of much value for historical purposes. Charges were made against Dryer by

several Americans residing in Hawaii, and several of his despatches are concerned chiefly with his replies and counter charges. Other topics are: Abuses in regard to care of destitute and invalid seamen (2, 3, 18, 19, 26, 29); Economic conditions in Hawaii (2, 4,¹); Walter M. Gibson (9, 10); Question of rights of jurisdiction of Hawaiian government in cases arising in Hawaii between American seamen and their captains (16).

JAMES MCBRIDE, MINISTER RESIDENT
(1863-1866)

(a) *Instructions*

Instructions to McBride (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. With the appointment of McBride, the rank of the diplomatic representative of the United States in Hawaii was raised to that of Minister Resident. This fact is referred to in instruction No. 2, March 18, 1863, together with general observations on the relations between the United States and Hawaii. There are a large number of instructions, but many of them are mere acknowledgements of receipt of despatches, frequently with some such comment as that the despatches are "interesting" or "will receive due consideration" or that his (McBride's) action is approved. The following are of somewhat greater importance: No. 19, May 5, 1864 (case of *Arctic* and *Helen Mar*); Nos. 22 and 23, Oct. 12 and 17, 1864 (changes in the Hawaiian constitution, which Secretary of State Seward said were to be regarded as a domestic question, in which the United States had no right or disposition to interfere); Nos. 24 and 25, Jan. 11, 1865 (reciprocity question and naval depot at Honolulu); No. 41, Sept. 25, 1865 (trans-Pacific mails).

(b) *Despatches*

McBride's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. X and XI. The principal theme developed in these despatches is the supposed British leanings of the Hawaiian government, its unfriendly, if not hostile, attitude toward the United States, and the conflict between American and British interests and influence. This subject is discussed in the following despatches: Nos. 5, 9,² 44, 49, 54, 67, and a letter to Pres. Lincoln, dated March 3, 1864. No. 67, July 2, 1866, is about the death of Princess Victoria, heir to the throne; McBride writes:

"Her death has occasioned much grief throughout the nation, and especially with the more thoughtful portion of the natives, and with Americans; as her predilections were not British, but American."

¹ Printed in part in *For. Rel. 1861*; the part relating to economic conditions in Hawaii is not printed.

² Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*.

Closely related to this theme was the case of excess duties charged upon invoices of the ships *Arctic* and *Helen Mar* (Nos. 11, 20, 23, 24, and private letter to Seward dated March 25, 1864), which McBride considered a clear proof of the anti-American proclivities of the Hawaiian government. He became greatly worked up about it, but Secretary of State Seward told him (in instruction No. 19) that it was not proper to pursue the subject beyond "the respectful presentation of what are believed by the parties interested to be the equities of their case," since "the interpretation of their own revenue laws is the prerogative of the Hawaiian Government and the application of them must be left to their own sense of equity."

Related to this theme also was the question of a reciprocity treaty, which McBride looked upon as a means of restoring American influence in Hawaii (Nos. 16,³ 36). In that connection he recommended (No. 37¹) that a grant of land at Honolulu for naval purposes should be secured as a bonus for a Reciprocity Treaty.

Other topics discussed: Change in the Hawaiian constitution (Nos. 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, and private letter of March 25, 1864); Trans-Pacific mails (53, 61²); Danger to American commerce from Confederate privateers (5, 26); Rescue of Whalon, officer on an American whaleship, by Rev. Mr. Kekela, Hawaiian missionary at the Marquesas Islands (22, 43, 50); Jurisdiction of Hawaiian courts over cases between American ship captains and their men—the *Blue Jacket* case (63); Cotton growing (9 and letter of Jan. 26, 1865); Abuses in hospital affairs—care of destitute and invalid seamen (private letter of May 6, 1866).

EDWARD M. MCCOOK, MINISTER RESIDENT
(1866-1869)

The principal points in the relations between the United States and Hawaii during McCook's term of office were: (1) the reciprocity movement of 1867-70; (2) the irritation caused by the presence in Hawaiian waters of the U. S. S. *Lackawanna*, Captain William Reynolds, commander; (3) the secret mission of Z. S. Spalding (sent by Secretary of State Seward) to Hawaii, which added to the irritation caused by the *Lackawanna* affair. After the death of Mr. Wyllie in 1865, a Frenchman, Charles de Varigny, who had been minister of finance for two years, was appointed minister of foreign affairs. Varigny was bitterly hostile to everything American, and much of the irritation during this period may be accounted for on that basis. The reciprocity

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52-2-77.

² Printed in *For. Rel.* 1866.

³ Printed in *Sen. Doc.* 56-2-231, Part 8, page 146. Seward's reply (instruction No. 14) is in the same volume, page 147.

movement was promoted chiefly by the planting interests; the Hawaiian government favored it only for the purpose of quieting the talk of annexation.

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to McCook (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, I and II. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. Several of the instructions are missing from the Legation Archives. The principal points to be noted in these instructions are: *Blue Jacket* affair (Nos. 3,² 26³); Abuses in hospital affairs (12, 25, 27, 29, 34, 39); Reciprocity (19,⁵ 21, 30, 32, 36,¹ and a confidential letter¹ of Sept. 12, 1867); Annexation (9, 33,¹ 42,¹ which is addressed to Spalding, and the confidential letter¹ of Sept. 12, 1867); Lackawanna affair (31, 36,¹ and one dated Sept. 21, 1867); Coolie trade (50⁴); *Peru* affair (59, 60); Visit of Queen Emma to United States (6,² 18). A telegram from Seward to McCook, dated June 13, 1867, says: "A ship of war will constantly be kept there [i. e. in Hawaii]."

(b) *Despatches*

McCook's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XI and XII. Mr. McCook visited Washington three times during his term of office, in the winter of 1866-7, the winter of 1867-8, and the winter of 1868-9, each time in the interest of the reciprocity treaty. During the first of these absences, the despatches from Honolulu were written by H. B. Rouse; during the second, by Z. S. Spalding; during the third, by Elias Perkins; each of these men having the title of acting chargé d'affaires.

The principal subjects referred to in the despatches are: Reciprocity treaty (Nos. 30, 31,¹ 38, 41, 43, three despatches by McCook, dated San Francisco, May 7, 29,⁵ and June,⁵ 1867, and a private letter from McCook to Seward, dated Oct. 22, 1868); *Lackawanna* affair (23, 25, 30, 31,¹ 39, and "Notes of Conversation. . . .", Sept. 14, 1867⁶); Annexation (38); Political and economic conditions in Hawaii, American influence, etc. (6¹); Mail contract of Pacific Mail Steamship Co. with United States (15²); Relations between Hawaii and Japan (32¹); Joint guarantee of independence of Hawaii (49); Coolie trade (54,⁴ 59⁴); Visit of Queen Emma to United States (4,² 12²); *Blue Jacket* affair (6,¹ 13,² 22³); *Peru* affair (67, 68); Hospital

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52-2-77.

² Printed in *For. Rel.* 1866.

³ Printed in *For. Rel.* 1867.

⁴ Printed in *For. Rel.* 1868.

⁵ Printed in *Sen. Doc.* 56-2-231, Part 8.

⁶ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52-2-77, but incorrectly dated Sept. 14, 1869.

abuses (10, 11, 18, 50, 69, 77; No. 44, also on this subject, could not be found); Attempt of McCook to influence Hawaiian elections (48 and a "Separate Despatch" dated Feb. 13, 1869).

Spalding's secret mission comes out in four letters from him to his father, Congressman R. P. Spalding, which were forwarded by the latter to Secretary of State Seward. These letters are dated at Honolulu, Dec. 10, 1867, Jan. 15, March 29, and April 14,¹ 1868. Spalding was subsequently appointed consul; the Hawaiian government was very reluctant to receive him in that capacity, but he finally was received (Nos. 63, 74, 75, 76, 78).

HENRY A. PEIRCE, MINISTER RESIDENT
(1869-1877)

Mr. Peirce's term of service was longer than that of any of the others who represented the United States in Hawaii in a diplomatic capacity. This term covered the later years of the reign of Kamehameha V, the whole of the reign of Lunalilo, and the early years of the reign of Kalakaua. The great event during this period was the final consummation of the reciprocity treaty between the two countries, and a large part of the correspondence has a bearing on that subject.

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Peirce (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, II. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. The instructions are not as important as might be expected, since all important negotiations between the two governments were carried on in Washington. The principal topics referred to are: Need for United States warship in Hawaii (6); Annexation (41, 84, 86,¹ 93); Reciprocity (86,¹ 102); British protest against reciprocity treaty (160); Courtesies to King on proposed trip to United States (74, 75, 77, 85, 133, 134); Coolie trade (92³); Effort of Hawaiian government to get compensation for depredations on Hawaiian vessels by Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah* (52); Protection to Hawaiian missionaries in Micronesia (13); Protection to Japanese laborers in Hawaii (54); Case of *Mary Belle Roberts* (197); Hospital (71³); Agency at Honolulu for San Francisco-Honolulu mail contractors (12, 16).

(b) *Despatches*

Peirce's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XII (Nos. 1-33), XIII (34-110), XIV (111-168),

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*. Instruction No. 86 is the one dated March 25, 1873, of which an extract is printed, without the number, on page 15 of Doc. No. 77 (page 19 of *For. Rel. 1894* [Appendix II]). Spalding's letter of April 14, 1868, as printed, is incorrectly dated April 14, 1869.

³ Printed in *For. Rel. 1873*.

XV (169-232), XVI (233-306), XVII (307-404). Many of these despatches are short. Beginning with 1870, each despatch is supposed to relate to only one subject; but the subjects frequently over-lap.

Following are the principal topics: Internal political affairs in Hawaii (29, 51, 53, 64, 72, 130, 144, 148,³ 157,³ 159, 161, 164, 174,³ 175, 177,³ 180,³ 182,³ 184,³ 185, 186, 189,¹ 214, 220, 222, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241,¹ 243,¹ 244, 258, 260, 261, 265, 273, 282, 283,⁴ 326, 352, 359, 361, 366, 368, 370, 375, 381); Reciprocity (2, 84, 189,¹ 190,¹ 191,¹ 192, 194, 196, 198, 201, 203, 209, 212, 213, 214, 221, 228, 229, 269, 274, 284, 291,¹ 293, 324,⁴ 326, 334, 337, 344, 359, 363,⁴ 365, 370, 372, 390); British protest against reciprocity treaty and demand for equal treatment (331, 336, 391, 392, 395); Questions of interpretation of details of treaty (374, 376, 380, 383); Annexation (72, 84, 101,¹ 174, 186, 189,¹ 191,¹ 192, 196, 198, 201, 203, 206, 213, 259, 391, 395); Need of United States warship at Honolulu (9, 15, 27, 77, 222, 223, 231, 241,¹ 250, 273, 352); Naval protection to commerce in Micronesia, etc. (16, 21, 43, 49, 52, 54, 67, 136); Affairs in Samoa (142, 355); Relations between Hawaii and Japan (32, 36, 37, 44, 62, 121, 122); Episcopal church in Hawaii (34, 131, 155); Honolulu agency for U. S. mail service between Honolulu and San Francisco (39, 57); Shift of Hawaiian commerce toward British colonies (64, 92, 293, 341); Wreck of the *Saginaw* (93,² 98,² 104,² 112); Mail steamship service between San Francisco, Honolulu, and Australia (99,² 146); Courtesies to King on proposed trip abroad (169, 187, 286); Kalakaua's visit to the United States (279,⁴ 283,⁴ 286, 288,⁴ 289, 291,¹ 295, 297, 300,⁴ 308, 314, 315, 317,⁴ 318⁴); Aid from foreign warships in preserving order (241, 243,¹ 245,¹ 246, 258, 259); Compensation for Hawaiian losses from depredations of Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah* (110, 111, 119, 124, 128, 178, 216); Loss of whaleships in Arctic (125, 126, 129, 160, 166); Intention of Hawaiian government to abrogate parts of treaty with France (137); International rivalry in Hawaii (3, 64); Ambitions of New Zealand in Pacific (293); Proposal for permanent neutralization of Hawaii (396); Hospital abuses (147, 151); Economic conditions in Hawaii (168, 205); Coolie trade (217); Case of *Mary Belle Roberts* (401).

In No. 79, Oct. 11, 1870, speaking of Queen Dowager Kalama, who had just died, Mr. Peirce says:

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52-2-77.

² Printed in *For. Rel.* 1871.

³ Printed in *For. Rel.* 1873. An important part of despatch No. 174 is omitted.

⁴ Printed in *For. Rel.* 1875.

"Amiability, dignity of manners and deportment, with loving kindness to her people, were conspicuous traits in the life & character of the deceased Queen. She died beloved & regretted by natives & foreigners. To the latter, particularly to Americans, she was uniformly kind and friendly."

The following paragraphs from No. 174, Dec. 11, 1872, are omitted from the despatch as printed in *Foreign Relations 1873*.

"I have heard influential men speak of annexation to the U States as being the most preferable measure for the future prosperity & security of these islands. But success in that direction, they deem impossible of attainment;—in view of the results in regard to former proposed purchases by the U States, of the Island of St Thomas and that of St Domingo; as well as the indifference heretofore shown by the U States Government for the acquisition of these Islands.

"The 'Party of Annexationists' so called, seems now to have but little life—but it would revive with the most overwhelming strength, if any encouragement were given them by authority of the U S Government—and to the end of obtaining the sense of the whole people in regard to a transfer of the sovereignty of the Islands to the U States—The moment is most favourable for such a canvass, in their opinion, & not likely to again occur."

In No. 228, Nov. 18, 1873, speaking of the withdrawal by the Hawaiian government of the proposition which it had made for the cession of Pearl River lagoon to the United States as an inducement for a reciprocity treaty, Mr. Peirce says:

"It has been evident for a short time past, that emissaries and political demagogues of foreign & native birth, were exciting the passions and prejudices of the people, against cession of territory; stirring up strife and enmity between foreigners and natives; discrediting the King and government, and creating clamour for a change of the Ministry. These agitators have succeeded in so alarming the government as to induce it, as a matter of prudence to withdraw the proposition to U States for cession of territory.

"Walter M Gibson, editor of the newspaper here called the 'Nuhou Hawaii', who is 'everything by turns & nothing long,' publishes the extract enclosed herewith [prospectus of *Nuhou*].

"Several of the opponents to the cession of Pearl River Lagoon to the U States, are warm 'annexationists' in reality—and acting in the belief that the success of the former measure, would indefinitely postpone the annexation of the Islands to the U. States. There are others, possessing but little principle, who aim to create disturbance and political complications; with the hope that a change in affairs, may bring to them office & emolument.

"The Hawaiian Government in withdrawing the proposition alluded to, were no doubt influenced therein by a fear of a revolution among its people; reports received from the other Islands indicating excitement and turbulence of feeling among the masses."

JAMES M. COMLY, MINISTER RESIDENT
(1877-1882)

Comly's correspondence gives the impression that he was an able and effective minister. The most striking incident during his term of office was the Moreno episode of 1880. In that critical affair Comly's conduct was characterized by great discretion and firmness which enabled him to have an important influence in the right direction.

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Comly (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, III. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II. Instructions Nos. 102,⁵ 111,⁵ 113,⁵ and 114,¹ by Secretary of State Blaine, are of great importance as a statement of the policy of the United States toward Hawaii. The principal topics noted in the instructions are: British claims under U. S.-Hawaii reciprocity treaty (Nos. 4, 102,⁵ 105⁶); Attempt to supplant American by British influence (111⁵); Policy of United States toward Hawaii (113,⁵ 114¹); Foreign policy of Hawaii in relation to reciprocity treaty (28²); Alleged frauds in sugar imports from Hawaii to United States (40, 43, 50); Interpretation of details of treaty (47, 52³); Moreno affair and its sequel (65, 72, 76); Case of Quinn—illegal collection of taxes by Hawaiian government (55,⁴ 58,⁴ 64,⁴ 77, 78, 80); Case of *Harriet N. Carlton* (27, 37, 38, 51); Reckless tax policy proposed in Hawaii (118⁶); Ralik islands affairs (81¹); Treaty between Hawaii and Japan, involving question of extra-territoriality (84, 89, 99, 101); Kalakaua's trip around the world (90⁵); Status of Americans in Hawaii—case of P. C. Jones (122).

(b) *Despatches*

Comly's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XVII (Nos. 1-30), XVIII (31-79), XIX (80-150), XX (151-230). The principal topics are: British (and German) claims under the reciprocity treaty (Nos. 13, 21, 27, 43,² 154, 172,⁵ 194, and Separate and Confidential despatch of July 4, 1881); Advantages of treaty to United States (19, 76,

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 52-2-77*. No. 114 is the "confidential" instruction of Dec. 1, 1881; it is also printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-13*, which is reprinted in *For. Rel. 1894* (Appendix II).

² Printed in *For. Rel. 1878*. Part of No. 43 is omitted.

³ Printed in *For. Rel. 1879*.

⁴ Printed in *For. Rel. 1880*.

⁵ Printed in *For. Rel. 1881*. Instructions Nos. 102, 111, and 113 are also in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-13*.

⁶ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-13*.

173); Interpretation of details of treaty (74,³ 85,⁴ 127, 137, 229); Alleged frauds in importation of sugar and rice from Hawaii into United States (75, 106, 120,⁴ 124,⁴ 202); Internal political affairs in Hawaii (43,² 44,² 93, 104, 107, 112, 113, 121, 122, 131, 136, 149, 209, 217, 221); Moreno affair and sequel (104, 113, 121, 122, 131, 136, 141, 149); Attempt to supplant American by British influence (107, 178, 189,⁵ 194,⁵ 209); Future of Hawaii (213); Immigration and labor (148,⁵ 153,⁵ 199, 206, 209); Hawaii-Japan treaty (146, 168, 174, 184, 215); Custom house statistics (100,⁴ 101,⁴ 164, 211, 214); Hawaiian finances (119); Question of a treaty between Hawaii and China (200); Ralik islands affairs (117,⁵ 185⁵); Case of the *Harriet N. Carlton* (49, 53, 56, 67, 72); Case of the *Mary Belle Roberts* (87⁴); Illegal tax cases—Quinn, etc. (91,⁴ 95,⁴ 111,⁴ 126, 135, 138); Status of Americans in Hawaii—Case of P. C. Jones (223); Kalakaua's trip around the world (147⁵).

The following part of No. 43, July 8, 1878, is omitted from the despatch as printed in *Foreign Relations 1878*.

"The assault on the Ministry was led by Walter Murray Gibson, formerly a citizen of the United States. He has a strange and eventful history, of which it is only necessary to say here, perhaps, that he was a secession sympathizer during the war, and that he is said to now hate his native country. His work in the present agitation was therefore opposed to the interests of the United States. It was through his contrivance chiefly that the native members were kept alive with fears that the Reciprocity treaty would somehow result in annexation to the United States, and the destruction of Hawaiian Independence. They were also stirred up with alarm at the position of Great Britain who was represented as having demanded equal privileges with the United States, and was held entitled thereto by Treaty."

In No. 152, Feb. 14, 1881, Comly writes of the regency of Princess Liliuokalani during the absence of King Kalakaua on his trip around the world. He says the Regent is carrying herself with prudence and tact, and making friends by the simplicity of her style and by accessibility to the people. This part of the despatch is printed in *Foreign Relations 1881*. The following is not printed:

"It was deemed of great political significance in the recent troubles that the King had never 'received'—there was no point of contact between himself and the public—no one saw him as visitors except persons with 'axes to grind', or impudent adventurers with 'cheek' enough to force themselves into the royal presence, and servility enough to maintain themselves there. I have always urged upon the Ministers, as a measure of political importance, that regular monthly receptions should be held, in

² Printed in *For. Rel. 1878*. Parts of Nos. 43 and 44 are omitted.

³ Printed in *For. Rel. 1879*.

⁴ Printed in *For. Rel. 1880*. Parts of Nos. 87, 100, 101, and 120 are omitted. The omissions from No. 120 are of some interest.

⁵ Printed in *For. Rel. 1881*.

order to bring the King into more familiar relation with the reputable public. Attorney General Armstrong was the first person in the Ministry to indorse this view by active exertions, and he would have been successful in arranging for such receptions if the King had not gone off on his tour around the world."

In No. 226, July 13, 1882, is the following:

"The business of the country is on a silver basis—except a few British sovereigns that pass for \$5. The principal coin in circulation is Mexican and U. S. trade dollars, French, Belgian, Italian and Sardinian (old) five franc pieces that pass for dollars, and some small subsidiary coins, mostly U. S. No copper in circulation, and coins of 5c are rarely used."

Part of No. 122, August 21, 1880, relating to the Moreno episode, is printed in the Appendix of this Report.

ROLLIN M. DAGGETT, MINISTER RESIDENT
(1882-1885)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Daggett (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, IV. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, II and III. The principal topics are: Interpretation of details of reciprocity treaty (Nos. 31, 41, 50, 53, 59, 87); Alleged frauds in sugar imports from Hawaii (14,² 21, 22,² 28,² 32); Question of renewal of the treaty (50, 52, 53, 59, 87); Need of United States warship in Hawaiian waters (25¹); Exclusive grant by Hawaiian government of right to transport Chinese laborers to Hawaii (38,² 43,³ 47³); Collection of Hawaiian customs duties in gold (56); Case of Hiram Bridges (78, 81, 84).

(b) *Despatches*

Daggett's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XX (Nos. 1-30), XXI (31-168), XXII (169-240). Most of these despatches are short; a considerable number of them deal with financial and economic conditions in Hawaii, with frequent reference to the reckless character of Hawaiian legislation. The principal topics are: Interpretation of details of reciprocity treaty (Nos. 6, 10, 20, 99, 119, 145, 149, 175, 225); Proposed renewal of treaty (134); Suggests complete reciprocity of trade between Hawaii and United States (34);

¹ Printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 53-2-13.

² Printed in *For. Rel.* 1883.

³ Printed in *For. Rel.* 1884.

Alleged frauds in sugar imports (39, 56,² 73,² 78²); Internal political affairs in Hawaii (11, 21, 28, 35, 47, 51, 71, 90, 107, 120, 143, 146, 154, 167, 168, 172, 174, 180, 184, 189); Hawaiian finances (68², 85, 144,³ 146, 174, 179, 183, 184, 189, 190, 231); Coinage, etc. (106,³ 110,³ 116,³ 122,³ 129, 158, 178,³ 208,⁴ 214, 217,⁴ 221⁴); Bank (159, 184); Taxation (29); Custom house statistics (133, 220); Economic conditions (151,³ 172); Collection of customs duties in gold (152,³ 157,³ 180, 208,⁴ 218⁴); Coronation of Kalakaua (49, 50,² 53²); Need of U. S. warship in Hawaiian waters (9, 63, 67); Immigration and labor—Japanese (12, 46, 167, 215,⁴ 232); Chinese (64,² 66,² 95,² 108, 132,³ 135,³ 138³); Portuguese (100³); Exclusive contracts of Hawaiian government for transportation of Chinese laborers to Hawaii (108, 132); Proposed steamship line England to Hawaii (150, 171); Withdrawal of Pacific Mail Steamship Co. from Hawaiian trade (153³); Protest of Hawaiian government against annexation of Polynesian islands by foreign powers (94); Leprosy in public schools (127, 139); Ocean cable project (183, 185); Case of Hiram Bridges (210, 211, 230, 234).

In No. 174, July 14, 1884, Mr. Daggett speaks of the proceedings of the legislature; referring to the consideration of the general appropriation bill, he says:

"The amounts thus far voted have been approximately those asked by the Ministry; but additional estimates to the aggregate of over \$1,500,000, for immigration, public improvements, etc., have been presented, in excess of the ordinary revenue, and it is probable that the major part of the sum will be voted. If so, further borrowing must be resorted to, and another million or more will be added to the public indebtedness during the next two years. The inevitable result of these increasing obligations will be to hasten the end of existing governmental forms, and inaugurate more strictly a government of the people. Foreign capital invested here will have protection against the spoliation of native Legislatures, and will not hesitate to seek it, if need be, in revolution."

GEORGE W. MERRILL, MINISTER RESIDENT
(1885-1889)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Merrill (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, V. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, III. Of these instructions, Nos. 36, 52, 55, 61, 77, 127, 128 are printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-13*¹; Nos. 61, 79, 80 are printed in *Foreign Relations 1888*. In the instructions not printed, the principal topics are: Claim of Ladd & Co. (44, 73, 81, 82,

¹ This is reprinted in *For. Rel. 1894* (Appendix II).

² Printed in *For. Rel. 1883*. There are a few omissions, of no great importance.

³ Printed in *For. Rel. 1884*.

⁴ Printed in *For. Rel. 1885*.

86, 103); Relations between Hawaii and Samoa (45); Hawaii-Japan treaty (54); History of the supplementary convention of reciprocity is given in an unnumbered confidential instruction dated Sept. 26, 1887.

(b) *Despatches*

Merrill's despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XXII (Nos. 1-93), XXIII (94-182), XXIV (183-265). A large number of these despatches are printed in the volumes of *Foreign Relations* from 1885 to 1889, and others in *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-48*; but it should be noted that in the printed despatches, significant parts have been omitted from Nos. 84, 85, 135, 158, and 211; this is particularly true of No. 135, which gives an account of the revolution of 1887. In the despatches not printed, the principal topics are: Internal political affairs (43, 55, 60, 74, 124, 125, 126, 139, 162, 166, 186, 187, 192, 200, 205); Opium license bribery (124, and unofficial letter of May 31, 1887, with its inclosures²); National (London) loan (104, 155, 157, 203); Japanese immigration (53, 54); Chinese (67); Samoan policy of Hawaii (99, 105, 154); Discussion in Hawaii of rumored renewal of reciprocity treaty with Pearl Harbor cession (66, 68); Merrill's views on renewal of treaty (110); Status of American citizens in Hawaii under new constitution (134); Need of U. S. warship in Hawaiian waters (132); Claim of Ladd & Co. (176, 182, 206).

JOHN L. STEVENS, MINISTER RESIDENT until Sept. 8, 1890; then
ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
(1889-1893)

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Stevens (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, VI. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, III. All of these instructions that are of any significance in connection with the relations between the United States and Hawaii are printed in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-13*,³ and most of them also in *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-48*³. The only other ones of any importance (not printed) are No. 12, Dec. 10, 1890 (about Spain's title to the Caroline Islands) and No. 32, Nov. 27, 1890 (inquiring about the claim of Ladd & Co.).

(b) *Despatches*

The despatches of Mr. Stevens (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XXIV (Nos. 1-30 as Minister Resident),

² This is placed, out of order, at the beginning of Vol. XXIV.

³ Reprinted in *For. Rel. 1894* (Appendix II).

XXV (1-96 as E. E. and M. P.). With the exceptions noted below, all the despatches of Stevens which have any significance in connection with the relations between Hawaii and the United States are printed in *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-48*. Despatch No. 70, Oct. 8, 1892, was not printed, probably because it contains reflections on the British diplomatic representative in Hawaii. A significant part of No. 20, Feb. 22, 1891, has been left out, though the printed despatch does not indicate any omission; and it is possible that unimportant parts of some other despatches have been omitted. In this connection the statements of President Cleveland in his message of Dec. 18, 1893 (at the beginning of *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-48*), in his message of Jan. 13, 1894 (at the beginning of *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-70*), and in his message of Feb. 19, 1894 (at the beginning of *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-46*) are to be noted. There is filed with the official despatches a personal letter from Stevens to "Bro. Blaine," March 25, 1892, in which he states his views with even less reserve than he does in the official despatches; this is endorsed: "See also letter of L. A. Thurston of May 27, 1892." Mr. Thurston's letter is not in this file.

In other despatches (not printed) the only important topics are: Marcus Island—guano (No. 4 as M. R.); Midway Island—guano (12 as E. E. & M. P.); British annexation of Johnson Island and counter claim (62, 63); Caroline Islands (6 and 14 as E. E. & M. P.); Claim of Ladd & Co. (29 as M. R., 51, and private letter to "Bro. J. G. B.," April 2, 1892).

JAMES H. BLOUNT, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY
(May-August, 1893)

The report here made on Blount's correspondence relates only to his correspondence as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. His correspondence as Special Commissioner (printed in *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-47*) is not filed in the Hawaiian series.

The instructions to Blount (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, VI. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, III. His despatches (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vol. XXV (Nos. 1-7).

With the exceptions noted below, all of Blount's correspondence which is of any significance is printed, the instructions in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 53-2-13*, and the despatches in *House Ex. Doc. 53-2-48*. Despatches Nos. 6 and 7 (relating to the Spreckels cane incident, and the latter having also important inclosures relating to Japanese demands on Hawaii) are not printed.

ALBERT S. WILLIS, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY
(1893-1897)

Willis died in office, Jan. 6, 1897; and Ellis Mills, who had been Secretary of Legation, served as chargé d'affaires from that date until the arrival of Mr. Sewall in June, 1897.

(a) *Instructions*

The instructions to Willis and Mills (original) are in Legation Archives, Instructions, VI, VII, VIII. Department File copies are in Hawaii Instructions, III. Nearly all these instructions which are of any importance are printed in the volumes of *Foreign Relations* for 1894 (Appendix II), 1895, and 1896. The principal topics referred to in those not printed are: Use of Necker Island for a cable station (No. 28); Senate declaration of policy as to Hawaii (30); Sending of U. S. warship after uprising of January, 1895 (Telegram of Jan. 18, 1895); Military trials, etc., following that uprising (73, 97); Citizenship of P. C. Jones (71); Claim of G. L. Ritman (120). In No. 170 (to Mills, April 19, 1897), Secretary of State Sherman says: "It is especially desired that you keep the Department thoroughly advised in regard to the Japanese labor question."

(b) *Despatches*

The despatches of Willis (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XXVI (Nos. 1-61), XXVII (62-104), XXVIII (105-215). The despatches from No. 174, Dec. 9, 1896, were written by Ellis Mills.

The larger part of these despatches are printed in the volumes of *Foreign Relations* for 1894 (Appendix II), 1895, 1896, and 1897. In the despatches not printed, the principal topics are: Necker Island as a cable station (53); Political arrests and rumors of insurrection (77, 79); Citizenship of P. C. Jones (89); Cases of certain persons claiming to be American citizens, involved in the uprising of January, 1895 (100, 128, 132, 136, 143, 154); Visit of John W. Foster to Hawaii (171); Annexation (185, 186, 188, 193, 196, 200); Difficulty between Hawaii and Japan (191, 205, 207, 209, 210B, 211, 213, 215).

HAROLD M. SEWALL, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND
MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
(1897-1898)

After the formal transfer of sovereignty from the Republic of Hawaii to the United States, Mr. Sewall remained at Hono-

lulu as Special Agent of the United States until the inauguration of the Territorial government in June, 1900. His correspondence in the latter capacity is filed in the Hawaiian series following his correspondence as Envoy. The present report will deal only with the correspondence up to August 12, 1898, the date of the transfer of sovereignty, since the correspondence after that date is not, strictly speaking, of a diplomatic character. The later correspondence may be made the subject of another report.

(a) *Instructions*

The principal topics in these instructions are the difficulty between Hawaii and Japan, particularly in its relation to the question of the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, and the Japanese protest against annexation. Several of the instructions have important inclosures showing the course of negotiations at Washington¹ and the feeling in Japan. The instructions on these points are (those having inclosures are marked with an asterisk *): Nos. 5*, 10*, 13, 15, 18*, 19*, 27, 33*, 35*, 54, 55*, 69*, 77*, 146, 150*, and Telegrams of July 10, Aug. 31, Oct. 20, 1897, and July 8, 1898.

Other topics: Title to Palmyra Island—cable question (26); Registration of foreign ships under Hawaiian flag—steamship *China* in particular (29); Citizenship of A. R. Hawkins (36); Claims of American citizens involved in uprising of January, 1895 (73, 95).

(b) *Despatches*

Sewall's despatches as Envoy (original) are in Department File, Despatches, Vols. XXIX (Nos. 1-69), XXX (70-148), XXXI (149-200). The two subjects of outstanding interest during this period were (1) the controversy between Hawaii and Japan, and (2) the annexation question; the despatches on these subjects are:

(1) Controversy with Japan (those with inclosures are marked with an asterisk *): 3*, 5, 7*, 9, 10*, 13, 14*, 15, 19, 21, 23*, 24, 26, 31, 33*, 34, 35, 42, 50, 51, 55*, 56*, 58*, 59, 61*, 62, 65*, 66*, 71, 72*, 78, 89, 94, 97, 101, 103, 109*, 130, 147, 190, Telegrams of July 26 and Aug. 1, 1898, and two Confidential despatches of July 26, 1898.

(2) Annexation: 5, 9, 27, 40, 41, 63, 81, 85, 93, 99, 103, 114, 122, 136, 137, 163, 172, 184, 187, 195, 196, 197, Telegrams of Aug. 1, and 11, 1898, Confidential despatches of Jan. 3,

¹ Part of this correspondence is printed in J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I, 274, 504-509.

March 15, and June 29, 1898, and despatches of Aug. 15 and 16, 1898, as Special Agent.

Other topics (some of which have a bearing on the annexation question): Princess Kaiulani and hope of restoration of the monarchy (75, 137, and Confidential despatches of Dec. 9, 1897, Feb. 3 and March 15, 1898); Internal political affairs in Hawaii (104, 106, 113, 114, 121, 122, 125, 128, 137, 141, 163, and Confidential despatches of Feb. 3, 15, March 2, 15, 1898); Registration of foreign ships under Hawaiian flag (6, 20, 22, 39, 48, 52, 60, 76, 88, 102, 127); Visits of Senator Morgan and various Congressmen (45, 53, 64, 80); British cable projects (29, 46, and Confidential despatches of Dec. 31, 1897, Jan. 3, and March 12, 1898); Cable franchise bill (134, 145, 160, 165, 171); Cable contract (178); Claims of British subjects involved in uprising of January, 1895 (74, 79, 90, 191, 194); Similar claims of American citizens (86, 105); Sympathy in *Maine* disaster (120); Neutrality question (152, 161, 168, Telegram of April 12, 1898, and Confidential despatches of March 31, April 12 and 30, 1898); Offer of aid from Hawaiian government (153, 155, 163, and Telegram of May 10, 1898); Americans in Honolulu offer services (149, and Telegram of May 1, 1898); U. S. troops in Hawaii (166, 167, 175, 176, 180, 181, 182); Red Cross society (169).

In No. 3, June 20, 1897, in speaking of the controversy between Hawaii and Japan, Mr. Sewall says:

"Any discussion of the question at issue between the two Governments should be prefaced by the statement that doubtless at the bottom of the attempt of Hawaii to restrict Japanese immigration, is the wish of the Government here to protect itself, and to save these Islands from Japanese colonization and ultimate and speedy Japanese domination."

In his Confidential despatch of Dec. 9, 1897, Sewall says:

"Kaiulani continues to make a favorable impression upon all classes of the community. The friendship displayed towards her by members of the Government is commented upon in native Hawaiian circles, and partisans of Liliuokalani are inclined to resent her growing popularity.

"It is a matter of report, having I believe a basis in fact, that there are those connected with the Government who would not regard with disfavor a proposition to make Kaiulani Queen—certainly in the event of the rejection of the treaty.

"But under any conditions and in any contingency the restoration of the Monarchy is impossible.

"Those who overthrew it, and who placed the present Government in power and have protected it there, are ready to prevent this at the sacrifice of their lives, and will do so despite the defection of any or all the members of the Government."

In his Confidential despatch of March 15, 1898, Mr. Sewall wrote as follows:

"I have the honor to report that . . . the feature of the political situation here is the division now manifest in the ranks of the Annexation party here which if it continues and Annexation is defeated points ultimately to the disintegration of the present Government of the Republic.

"The two wings of the American Union Party are the Annexation Club, and the American League. These organizations are and have been for some time bitterly opposing each other. At the bottom of their rivalry is I believe, only the question of the distribution of offices. In this the Annexation Club has been more fortunate than the League, therefore it is that the attacks upon the Government in the Legislature have been inspired chiefly by the latter.

"Both organizations profess continued loyalty to the cause of Annexation, but it is reasonable to presume that that cause must suffer just as the Government itself is today weakened through this division.

"Outside of the ranks of these opposing and active political organizations there are signs of wavering among those who have been generally counted as Annexationists. The most conspicuous example of this is Mr. Damon himself who has made a great success in his administration of the Finance Department. Mr. Damon has no faith that Annexation will succeed, does not hesitate to say so, and justly or not has laid himself open to the suspicion that he does not deeply desire it. He has warmly differed with his colleagues on many prominent points of policy, notably lately in regard to the proposed amendment to the Constitution doing away with the oath not to restore monarchy. He is a man of high personal character who cherishes affection for the native Hawaiians, and professes his belief in the stability of an independent Republic for Hawaii. It is said that he is a candidate for the Presidency in '99.

"The long delay in the ratification of the Treaty with the continued strain of anxiety to which all classes of the community are subjected thereby, is having the natural effect of increasing the number of those who doubt its final success, and who are weary as they express it, of waiting on our Government to act. It is disclosing too some who have never been at heart Annexationists. Between these who are gradually being brought into opposition to Annexation, the Royalists and native Hawaiians, and the opposition to the present Government there is at present no plan for common action. But I believe that every day's delay in Annexation tends to bring together these hostile though now divergent elements, and it is probable that if Annexation is defeated they will be united certainly by the next election. As for the natives they will do nothing without a leader and they have none at present. They apparently refuse to accept Mr. Davies, but it is my opinion that they will take the oath and qualify as voters before the next election or earlier if by doing so they can defeat Annexation.

"Kaiulani has proved a disappointment to many Hawaiians who were at first her partisans, and has lost lately in general popularity.

"All is quiet here, and there is not now that I can see, the slightest danger of any disturbance or outbreak."

III. CORRESPONDENCE OF SECRETARY OF STATE WITH HAWAIIAN DIPLOMATIC OFFICIALS

This correspondence is in the Department File in the two series entitled *Notes* (communications *to* the Secretary of State) and *Notes To* (communications *from* the Secretary of State). The former consists of four volumes, the latter of one. For the student of Hawaiian history the *Notes* series are of considerable value. In the present report no attempt will be made to analyze this material in detail; but the more important points will be noted.

The first volume of *Notes* consists exclusively of ten despatches, with inclosures, from R. C. Wyllie, Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs, to the Secretary of State, and one letter from King Kamehameha to the President of the United States. All of these relate to the difficulties with Commissioner George Brown and Consul William Hooper. A single despatch (No. 3, May 10, 1845) with its inclosures makes up nearly half of the volume.

NOTES, VOLUME II (1844-1885)

The first document in this volume is the letter from Timothy Haalilio and William Richards to Secretary of State John C. Calhoun, July 1, 1844, asking "whether the Government of the United States consider their various acts in relation to the Sandwich Islands as a full and perfect recognition of Independence." The second document is a letter from Schuyler Livingston to Secretary of State Buchanan, dated New York, Feb. 6, 1847, inclosing Livingston's credentials as Consul General for the Hawaiian Islands. There are several other documents showing the appointment of Hawaiian consuls for various parts of the United States.

A long letter from Wyllie, Jan. 8, 1849, complaining about Commissioner Ten Eyck, with extensive inclosures.

Various documents relating to the mission of J. J. Jarves and Dr. G. P. Judd as Special Commissioners, separately or jointly (1849-1850). This resulted in the negotiation of two treaties, one by Jarves with the Secretary of State, and one by Dr. Judd with Commissioner Charles Eames in San Francisco. The one negotiated by Jarves was ratified and went into effect. With these are some documents relating to Dr. Judd's mission to France. There are some replies on these points from Secretary of State Clayton in *Notes To*.

Documents relating to Lee's mission of 1855 which resulted in the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty, but none of importance which are not in print. Replies in *Notes To* (1855).

Documents relating to Allen's mission of 1856 which had two objects: (1) to secure the ratification of the reciprocity treaty; (2) to settle the case of George Bailey. See also in *Notes To* (1856).

Allen's mission of 1864 in the interest of a reciprocity treaty. Reply from Seward, Jan. 11, 1865, in *Notes To*.

Mission of Harris (1867-8), resulting in negotiation of a reciprocity treaty. Harris also presented various other matters, including the *Lackawanna* affair. On the latter point there is also a letter from Minister of Foreign Affairs Varigny with some very curious inclosures. Replies from Seward in *Notes To*, one of particular interest under date of March 9, 1868 (*Lackawanna*).

Mission of Mott-Smith (1868-9) in interest of the reciprocity treaty. Mission of Allen (1870) for same purpose.

Mission of Allen and Carter (1874-5), resulting in the negotiation of the reciprocity treaty which finally was ratified and went into effect in 1876. There is also a series of memoranda, all filed under date Dec. 23, 1874, relating to Kalakaua's visit to the United States.

In January, 1877, Elisha H. Allen took up his residence in Washington as permanent representative of Hawaii, with the title of Minister Resident. He continued in this position until his death, Jan. 1, 1883. His efforts were directed chiefly to defending the reciprocity treaty from various attacks which were made upon it. In a letter to Evarts, Oct. 22, 1879, he makes an elaborate argument in support of the treaty. There is also a letter to Frelinghuysen, May 29, 1882, arguing against termination of the treaty. There are some documents relating to the Moreno episode of 1880, but nothing of particular importance.

H. A. P. Carter succeeded Allen as Minister Resident in March, 1883, serving until his death in 1891, his rank being raised to that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the beginning of 1891. The two matters with which Mr. Carter was principally concerned (in Vol. II) were:

(1) Hawaii and the great powers in the South Pacific (Carter to Bayard, Oct. 18, 1883,¹ Nov. 3, 9, 1885; Gibson to Bayard, March 26, 1885; in *Notes To*, Bayard to Carter, Dec. 6, 1883¹).

¹ Printed in *For. Rel.* 1883.

(2) Renewal of the reciprocity treaty (three notes from Carter to Bayard, April 18, 1884, one of Feb. 27, 1885, and some others of less importance).

NOTES, VOLUME III
(1886-1892)

After the death of Mr. Carter (in November, 1891), J. Mott-Smith succeeded him, first as Special Commissioner and Chargé d'Affaires and finally as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, continuing in that position until after the revolution of 1893.

The most important topics treated in the correspondence in Volume III are:

(1) The Samoan question and Hawaii's policy in the South Pacific (various documents in 1886 and 1887; see also *Notes To*).

(2) Interpretation of supplementary convention of reciprocity (June-Sept., 1887; see also *Notes To*).² Following one of Carter's notes is the following memorandum (undated) in the handwriting of Secretary of State Bayard:

" . . . In the King, we have a most unreliable element but we must take him as we find him.

"I was sure that the Pearl Harbor amendment to the treaty was mischievous, depriving us of a *certainly*—and attempting to pull fruit before it was ripe.

"The *drift* of the Sandwich Islands was just what we wanted—and a few more years would have brought them so close to us—that with a *renewed navy* our [task?] of control would have been easy.

"We *must* try and get a telegraph from San Francisco.

"That is our best link."

(3) Moreno episode (July, 1887. See especially a memorandum of an interview between Carter and Bayard, July 6, 1887, in which Mr. Carter spoke with great frankness about political conditions in Hawaii).

(4) Project for absolute free trade between Hawaii and United States, presented in a note by Carter, April 11, 1889, and by Mott-Smith in November, 1891, and August, 1892.

(5) Proposal for cooperation between Hawaii and United States on a trans-Pacific cable (notes by Carter, Aug 5, 1886, Dec. 13, 1889, Jan. 30, 1891; there is also an original letter from Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs Parker to Carter, Sept. 7, 1891, giving views of Hawaiian government on cable projects).

² Important parts of this correspondence are printed in *For. Rel.* 1887.

(6) Change in United States tariff on sugar (by McKinley bill) and its effect on Hawaiian sugar industry and treaty relations between Hawaii and the United States (various notes by Carter and memoranda, March, 1889-Feb. 1891, and notes by Mott-Smith, June 9, Aug. 1, 1892).

NOTES, VOLUME IV (1893-1898)

During the period covered by this volume Hawaii was represented at Washington by four Envoys in succession, J. Mott-Smith, L. A. Thurston, W. R. Castle, and F. M. Hatch; besides the two annexation commissions of 1893 and 1897. The greater part of the time the relations between the two governments were not of the most cordial character. The topics with which the correspondence is chiefly concerned are the revolution of 1893 and questions growing out of it, the annexation question, the alleged violation of the neutrality laws of the United States by the schooner *Wahlberg* prior to the uprising of January, 1895, and the difficulties between Hawaii and Japan. A large part of this material is in print, but the following, not printed, may be noted:

Feb. 2, 1893. Memorandum of conversations between the Secretary of State and the Japanese, French, Russian, and German Ministers, on the Hawaiian question. (The Japanese minister said his government would look with favor on annexation; the French minister thought his government would not object; the Russian minister thought his government would be favorable; the German minister thought the British government would not passively submit, but thought his own government would not object, though some questions might arise.)

Feb. 21, 1893. Stenographic notes of an interview between the Secretary of State and Mr. Paul Neumann. (Printed below in the Appendix of this report.)

March 9, 1893. Letter of Theo. H. Davies to Secretary of State Gresham:

"I venture to inform you that I have arrived here in the purely personal character of *Guardian in loco parentis* to the Princess Kaiulani of Hawaii. This friendly office was assumed by Mrs. Davies and myself in the year 1890 after the arrival of the Princess in England, at the written request of her father, of the late King Kalakaua, and of the then Princess Liliuokalani.

"Learning that the interests of the Princess were subject of grave discussion we accompanied the Princess to Washington, with the desire that her personality might be known to the States ruler in whose hands her fate so largely rests.

"With this simple statement of the object of my visit, I venture to express the hope that you may find it convenient to grant me a private, and of course unofficial interview at such time as may be agreeable to yourself."

(Mr. Gresham appointed Monday, March 13, at 3 p. m., as the time for an interview; but there is no memorandum on file of what was said at that time.)

May 22, 1897. Unofficial letter from F. M. Hatch to Assistant Secretary of State W. R. Day, on the relations between Hawaii and Japan:

"... I have said enough to give you a brief idea of the causes which force the Hawaiian Government to believe that their relations with Japan are becoming critical to a grave degree. On the one hand public sentiment in Hawaii and the most apparent motives of self preservation, compel the Hawaiian Government to attempt the enforcement of the immigration laws. On the other, is the development of strained relations with Japan and the final production of a state of tension which will lead to most serious results. The conviction felt in Honolulu is that, failing in annexation, it will become absolutely impossible to maintain an independent existence. Yielding to Japan means the complete and final establishment of their power, through the machinery of our own Constitution. Resisting Japan will, despite our best efforts in Hawaii, shortly develop conditions which the United States will be unable to ignore, and which will certainly be difficult to deal with. We in Hawaii think that one of the most convincing features in favor of annexation should be the conservative character of the measure as far as the United States is concerned. It would be an absolute guaranty and insurance against all possible complications with other governments over this spot in the Pacific which is so vital to the United States; and in regard to which, however strong the effort, the United States can never free itself from responsibility in the future."

APPENDIX A

THE MORENO EPISODE OF 1880

[Introductory Note.—The Moreno affair of 1880 is one of the most curious and at the same time one of the most important incidents in Hawaiian history. The following account of the appointment of Moreno as Minister of Foreign Affairs and his dismissal from that office is from the pen of James M. Comly, Minister Resident of the United States in Hawaii. In preceding despatches and in the early part of the one from which this extract is taken, Comly gives a narrative of the political developments leading up to the episode here described. In later despatches he gives the remainder of the story, which is too long to print in its entirety. These despatches of General Comly are an important contribution to the history of the reign of Kalakaua.]

(Hawaii—Despatches—Vol. 19)

No. 122.

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, 21 August, 1880.

SIR:

* * * * *

The Legislative Assembly was prorogued on Saturday, Aug. 14. The King was not present. The Chancellor acted for him and read his address. There was a slim attendance. The Acting Commissioner for France was the only diplomatic representative present, and there was much of conspicuous absence of all classes, on account of the unpopularity of the Assembly, which has been with difficulty prevented from doing even more disastrous work than that accomplished by it.

The Ministry now breathed easier. They had got rid of the intractable Assembly, and felt secure of their places for two years more. The Assembly was prorogued at 12 noon. At 1 P. M. the Ministers were all thunderstruck at receiving notifications to hand in their resignations immediately.

To their utmost astonishment and to the unspeakable dismay of the public, the Ministers, after defeating the "want of confidence" resolution by 32 votes to 10 in the Assembly, were not only summarily dismissed, but a Ministry for the most part grotesque in unfitness and unique in capacity was announced the next day to succeed them.

At the head of this new Ministry was Senor Celso Caesar Moreno, the promoter of the Chinese Opium and Subsidy schemes, the father of the Moreno Cable job, a suspected agent and spy of the Chinese Companies, living upon false pretenses, whom I myself had exposed to the King on General Garfield's letter and other evidences. If the President of the United States had made Beau Hickman Secretary of the Treasury the

appointment would have been no more astounding than this of Moreno.

Before night (Monday) the most intense excitement prevailed. The town was plastered with placards. One large handbill exposed the names of the new Ministry with a "mourning stripe" two inches wide enclosing them. Two meetings were called for Monday night. The wildest threats were made without any danger of the responsibility.

The abdication of the King, the crowning of Queen Emma, annexation to the United States, the lynching of Moreno, were as openly discussed on the streets as the claims of the Presidential candidates are in Washington. Business was nearly suspended. The feeling against the King and the new Cabinet was unanimous, among all classes of the community. The [native Hawaiians] were especially violent and impulsive in their demeanor, and the least spark was liable at any time to fire them. . . . Yet, even the wisest, soberest, oldest business men,—some who came out with the missionaries for secular employment in the mission, others sons of the old missionaries, and the like—were as excited in their way as the [Hawaiians].

It is difficult to avoid an appearance of sensational writing in describing the situation. The barest photographic report would seem somewhat emotional.

American methods so far prevailed in the end that all the forces concentrated in an immense mass meeting, at the old missionary stone church called *Kaumakapili*. It is claimed that this church will seat between two and three thousand. It was crammed, and gentlemen who were present assure me that all the approaches in the streets were filled with excited people who could not obtain standing room inside.

An account of this meeting will be found in the Hawaiian Gazette of August 18. I beg to call attention, also, at large, to the extremely temperate and judicious editorials of the Gazette on the situation—the work of Judge Hartwell, Attorney General in the Cabinet of 1877-8. He has also been a Justice of the Supreme Court, served in our Civil War and in the Massachusetts Legislature. I transmit, also, 3 copies of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of August 21. It will be seen that the two papers, usually at odds on all questions, are substantially unanimous on this. I avail myself of their assistance to shorten my report.

On Monday, August 16, Senor Moreno sent a printed circular to all the foreign diplomatic and consular representatives, notifying them that he had been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and had entered upon the discharge of the duties of

that office. Mr. Hastings, U. S. Vice Consul, promptly returned his notification with information that all correspondence between the Foreign Office and himself must pass through the United States Legation.

The British and French Commissioners determined that they would not under any circumstances recognize Mr. Moreno, or have any intercourse with the Foreign Office so long as he remained in charge. They wished to intervene with a joint or collective diplomatic representation to His Hawaiian Majesty, demanding the resignation or dismissal of Moreno. They called upon me to join them.

I reminded the gentlemen that the unvarying policy of the United States had been nonintervention with foreign powers, with the exceptions reserved by the "Monroe Doctrine" as to the American continents and adjacent Islands. I agreed, however, to delay acknowledging the receipt of Moreno's notification, and to have no intercourse with the office pending results expected to follow the public agitation. I agreed to notify my colleagues previous to any change of relation, and to consider favorably an ultimate alternative of asking instructions from our respective governments.

After much argument and persuasion, and strong pressure from committees and leading citizens to induce me to abandon my position and join my colleagues in a protest to the King, they found it best to recede to my position—nonintervention and official inactivity.

Mr. Moreno was not to be recognized, and no intercourse to be allowed with him or the Foreign Office.

The Consular Corps held a meeting and appointed a Committee to take counsel of the Diplomatic Corps. They were informed as to our position; and upon report to the meeting it was unanimously resolved to occupy the same posture, until advised of a change on the part of the diplomatic representatives.

At 12 o'clock, noon, the foreign representatives all displayed their colors, and the flags were all kept up—some night and day—to the end of the trouble.

Meantime, all citizens who could gain access to the King were besieging and beseeching him. He would not receive the committees of meetings sent to him, but referred them, courteously enough, to his Minister of the Interior—Premier—and promised to consider of their reports and representations. His Majesty industriously sought counsel from such of his friends as he hoped would stand by him, but I do not know of a single person who advised him to hold on to Moreno.

Even Moreno's colleagues were against him. The first billet had the name of Mr. Walker for Minister of Finance and Judge Davidson for Attorney General. They both declined, giving as their reason that they could not serve with Moreno. Governor Bush, who had accepted the Interior, did so with a protest against Moreno, and did not cease to urge the King to dismiss him. Three persons successively declined the Finance Office.

Finally . . . Rev. Mr. Kaueae . . . agreed to accept the finance office. His flock immediately forsook him, and sent word denouncing him as "loving eighteen dollars a day better than he did Jesus."

The alarm and excitement increased until the King deemed it necessary to disarm the Volunteer companies. The arms were stacked inside the palace yard, which is surrounded by a high stone wall. Artillery was posted about the palace. The place was put under strict military discipline. Ball cartridges were issued to the soldiers, who were instructed to admit no one to the palace without the password. It is reported and is probably true that the King slept in a small inner room at the armory, with a strong guard about him.

Queen Dowager Emma was very active in a social way, showing herself everywhere and being everywhere received with enthusiasm, in which the American element for the first time joined. She gave parties and balls a number of times during the excitement, but seemed to take no overt part in the proceedings outside.

The British Commissioner took occasion to say publicly and semi-officially that the British man-of-war in port would not be allowed to support Kalakaua against Queen Emma, as had been done by the English and American ships during the riots when he was elected King over Queen Emma.

In this condition the English merchants got up a strong paper asking the British Commissioner to interfere for the protection of British interests, and demand the dismissal of the new Cabinet, as a menace to British capital invested here.

The American merchants prepared a similar memorial to the United States Minister.

The United States Minister was also memorialized in a separate paper by Hawaiian citizens who were natives of the United States.

Also, in a third Memorial, by the large and respectable element of German resident[s], most of whom are large capitalists.

I was informed that the names on my different memorials represented more than half of all the capital in the Kingdom, and were still more weighty from the intelligence and respectability of the signers.

In addition to these, each member of the Diplomatic Corps was presented with a resolution to the same effect, unanimously adopted by the thirteen or fourteen foreign consuls in the Kingdom—nearly all of whom are in business.

It is hardly necessary I hope, otherwise than out of extreme caution, to say that the U. S. Vice-Consul and myself have been studiously careful to avoid even the appearance of any connection or meddling whatsoever with any of the public meetings or private citizens, except to labor earnestly with all Americans and others who approached us, to confine their actions to orderly methods, and to do everything in their power to allay the excitement and discountenance violence.

Tuesday night, quite late, the King sent a messenger with an urgent request that I would come to the palace and consult with him. The messenger was Dr. McGrew—before the war a near neighbor and friend of President Hayes, in Cincinnati, and who served in the Medical Staff throughout the war with high rank and distinction. He is as thorough-going an American as I ever met, and would not take the oath of allegiance to the King for the highest office in the Islands. Moreover, he has been on bad terms with the King for several years. Yet the King sent for him, and trusting frankly to his honor and independence made him a cordial friend during this affair. Dr. McGrew in delivering his message said that "the King will do whatever General Comly advises him to do, going there in his personal capacity; but he declares that he would lose his throne and his life before he would do anything at the dictation of the British and French Commissioners, or allow them to meddle officially with his right to select his own Ministers, or with his government in any other way."

I told the Doctor that I had agreed to take no separate step in the affair without first giving notice to my colleagues. That it was then too late at night to give such notice, and I would decide in the morning.

The Doctor very reluctantly, after an irascible explosion or two, carried back my answer.

The next (Wednesday) morning early the Japanese man-of-war *Tsukuba* came into port. The Captain sent the Japanese Commercial Agent to the United States Minister for advice whether, under existing circumstances, it was desirable to salute the flag. He was advised to salute the flag, and confine

his official visits for the present to the Governor of the Island of Oahu.

At 10 A. M. the Diplomatic Corps were to meet, and decide upon their next step. At 5 P. M. the most imposing demonstration of the series was to be made, by a meeting composed of every resident property holder of any importance in the city of Honolulu,—the meeting to be conducted American fashion, with strong officers, committeemen and speakers selected in advance. This meeting would embody and voice an overwhelming public sentiment, equal to the work of changing the dynasty, if necessary.

At the 10 o'clock meeting my colleagues proposed that I join in a Collective Note to the King direct, informing him that we suspend intercourse, and ask instructions of our governments. I replied that in no case could I sign a Collective Note, but that I might under certain contingencies sign an Identical Note. I then informed them that the King desired to see me, and that I felt that no opportunity should be neglected that promised to avoid the necessity for official intervention. They assented, and with great show of sympathy expressed their willingness that I should go alone to the King.

After considerable delay in finding Dr. McGrew, he notified the King that I was now ready to see him; and about 1 o'clock I reached the palace.

The King sent everyone else out of the room, and received me with a sort of embarrassed cordiality.

He entered at once upon his subject, and said he desired to speak to me about Mr. Moreno. I bowed. He said it appeared that I was not yet friends with Mr. Moreno. He wanted to know if I would not meet Mr. Moreno in private or as publicly as I desired, and receive his apologies for any offense he had committed.

I now perceived that in my former interview I had made a blunder in allowing the King to read General Garfield's letter, instead of reading it to him. He had failed to take its real meaning, and supposed I had been offended by some personal matter. Thereupon, I said to him:

"Your Majesty, I have no personal affair with Mr. Moreno. He is nothing to me personally, one way or another. I found him abusing the confidence of yourself and people by false pretenses, and I brought you the proofs that he was a false pretende[r] and a dangerous adventurer—that is all."

He looked much astonished and said, substantially: "A day or so after you showed me General Garfield's letter I told Mr.

Moreno that you had some grievance against him. I told Mr. Moreno that you was my friend, and that he also was my friend. I wanted him to see you and make whatever explanation was necessary in order that you might be friends with each other." His Majesty then told me, in what phraseology I cannot remember, that Mr. Moreno had given him to understand that he had seen me, a few days after, (he never did), and that it was all right between us—and the King said he always thought it was all right until since he made Moreno Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I had refused to notice him. He assured me, "Moreno says yet that he will make any apology you may require, in public or private."

I assured the King again that I desired no apology, and would not receive Mr. Moreno or his explanations. I reminded him once more that I had simply called upon him, at the request of his then Premier and other members of the Cabinet, with the proofs in my possession, offering, if he would send for Mr. Moreno, to show them in the presence of that person himself; that those proofs showed that Mr. Moreno was not a fit associate for him; and that I now wished to express the astonishment I felt, that His Majesty, after such an exposure, should have attempted to bring me and my colleagues into official relations with this man, who none of us could visit or allow to enter our houses, as a friend or a social equal. I told him that this was not all: One of my colleagues charged plainly and without qualification that Mr. Moreno had "lied" to him, and he could not be on terms with him. Nor was this all: My other colleague had a copy of a venomous pamphlet by Mr. Moreno, in which he attacked my colleague's government and countrymen. Nor was this all: I asked, had His Majesty met with one reputable person outside the palace who was Moreno's friend, or had a word to say for him. Was he not universally execrated and hooted at, as a scheming adventurer, living by his wits, without property or visible means of support, a mere tramp and vagrant?

The King said Mr. Moreno had shown himself to be a very entertaining companion, a man of large and novel views in political and state affairs; that he had been frequently surprised to find how exactly Mr. Moreno's views coincided with his own; and that he [had] put him in office because of this harmony and sympathy, and because he thought him the best agent to carry out certain of his own views—naming the *increase of Chinese immigration*; the *establishment of a line of Chinese steamers*; the *laying of Cable to connect the Sandwich Islands with China*; and so on.

Without allowing anything else to come in, then, I concentrated all my power upon a rapid and intense assault upon His

Majesty's policy, in attempting to thrust this man, so unspeakably odious to the whole Kingdom, into an official position of such honor and importance. I entreated him, earnestly, to give his people more honorable and capable Ministers and himself more able and trustworthy advisers, and to win the love of his subjects by calling about him the wisest and best men of the Kingdom. I tried in the most earnest and sincere language at my command to awake in his mind an ambition to become a popular King with the best of his people, and leave the degrade[d] and vicious to their own proper surroundings.

The King seemed overcome with emotion, and he grasped my hand and held on to it during all the latter part of the interview, where much more passed than I venture to put down in this long despatch. I closed by urging the King to decide *now*,—not to wait long enough to leave a chance for diplomatic intervention—a thing vexatious beyond [e]ndurance both in itself and as a precedent for more meddling. I urged him to check-mate, by acting of his own volition, and doing what would be demanded before it could be asked for, and so avoid interference.

The King said that he would send me word by 3 o'clock, and would send news that he thought would be agreeable. He told me that he would send his message to Dr. McGrew's, where he understood I was to meet a lunch party. And I hurried away, while he was in the mood.

At three o'clock, while we were at table, a note was handed me of which the following is a copy:

"Dear Sir:

"I ask you another hour's time.

"KALAKAUA."

"His Excellency,

"General Comly,

"Min. Resident."

The gentlemen present having received a hint from Dr. McGrew that something hopeful was in train, the most intense excitement prevailed. Directly the note was received a message came in for Dr. McGrew, who excused himself from his guests, and presently returned stating that Mr. Moreno had called and demanded to see him [me]. This was the reason for the King's delay.

The general impression seemed to be that Moreno intended personal violence if I did not give way, and I was not at all hopeful that I could avoid an unpleasant altercation. Chief Justice Harris (Chancellor of the Kingdom) was one of the guests. He asked to be permitted to advise, and urged me

strongly not to see Moreno. I told him that if the interview did not occur then and there it would have to come on the street or elsewhere. However, on the unanimous advice of all present, I sent a message that General Comly did not desire any further intercourse with Mr. Moreno. Then he sent a note, of which the following is a copy—(as it is somewhat peculiar I have made the copy a literal one):

“General Comly
“ U. S. Minister

“ Sir

“ C. C. Moreno An American Citizen

“ desires to have a 3 minutes

“ interview With the U. S. Minister on

“ matter of some importance and

“ ask said interview from the Sentiment

“ of justice of his adopted countrys Minister”

(He was hardly warm in his seat where he had renounced his beloved “adopted country,” and taken the oath of allegiance to Kalakaua.)

On receiving this summons I overruled all objections, and decided to see Mr. Moreno at once and end the matter. Dr. McGrew accompanied me as a witness, to prevent misrepresentation.

Mr. Moreno is a subtle, crafty and extremely clever Italian, of imposing and insinuating manners—a big, burly man, six feet high, with an air of some distinction. . . .

Mr. Moreno did not ask much of me, he said. He only desired that I would withdraw my opposition and allow him to hold this place, and give him time to produce proofs from China, Italy and the United States that I was doing him an injustice in suspecting him. He appealed to my justice, my generosity, my magnanimity, and threatened me with life long remorse if I destroyed his opportunity. He begged so that it was distressing. I could not give way, or I must in spite of myself have taken the chances. I tried as gently as possible to disengage him, and reminded him that I was not the only objector, and had not even the main objection to urge against him; that a united public sentiment was against him, and determined to oust him. And so forth: it is useless to repeat a tithe of it. After wonderful patience and self control—after indomitable self-possession and restraint—Mr. Moreno at last burst out passionately and said he *would not* resign—he would be dragged out by the hair of his head first. And turning to me with his

face convulsed with rage he said—"I will follow you to the end of the world and as long as you live—I will denounce you to your government and in every newspaper in America."

That relieved me considerably, and I said pleasantly, "Now it is Mr. Moreno in his own proper person that is speaking, and I am delighted to hear you. While you are in such a genial and exemplary frame of mind I will leave you."

He went back to the Palace infuriated. In a few minutes I received another autograph note, of which the following is a copy:

"Honolulu, Aug. 17th, 1880.

"Sir:

"Mr. Moreno has resigned his portfolio and I have accepted his resignation.

"Kalakaua."

"His Excellency

"Mr. Comly

"Minister Resident."

The King had kept his promise well.

By this time the mass meeting was in progress. (See Commercial Advertiser for an interesting report.) The gentlemen with me knew that Moreno was finally "out." Mr. Cartwright, a New Yorker who has lived here thirty years, asked permission to go and announce the good news to the meeting. I did not wish to have the public receive the impression that the King had acted under [any] duress whatever,—more especially as there had been much talk among the English that the British Commissioner was going to intervene, and that he would show the King that he must dismiss his obnoxious Cabinet—that he "could not have the blue jackets to back him this time," and would have to submit to advice.

The truth is the King was inflexibly determined that if the British and French Commissioners intervened diplomatically he would never give way—but would withdraw the exequatur each holds as Consul, and demand their recall.

I replied to Mr. Cartwright, therefore, that he might make the announcement to the meeting, if he would be careful to say that the King dismissed Moreno of *his own volition*. Mr. Cartwright came upon the meeting when it had settled down into that earnest indomitable feeling which characterizes the Anglo Saxon when he knows he is right and means to go ahead. Mr. Cartwright, a large, tall, imposing person, well known to all present, marched up the aisle to the front of the stand. By the

time he reached the stand there was a dead silence in the room, as all saw that something was about to happen. He turned to the audience and said, in a conversational way—

“Gentlemen—I am authorized to say to you that His Majesty, entirely of his own volition, has dismissed Mr. Moreno from the Ministry.”

The whole house rose, and cheer after cheer burst forth, with cries of “Long live the King!” “Three cheers for Kalakaua!” and the like. I was informed that the uproar was kept up some minutes. (See Commercial Advertiser, also.)

A committee of 13 “solid men” was appointed to convey the thanks of the people to the King. The only slip to mar the occasion was, that the King was not allowed to taste the sweets of popular applause, and find out how good and gracious a thing it was to please good men, without being reminded that further demands were to be pressed immediately. A little tact would have given the King time to “feel good in,” and then the people might have had their way. But these old Puritans don’t know any halfway between damnation and election, and before the cheering was done Mr. E. O. Hall, who came out as printer for the missionaries, interrupted the meeting to remind them that the rest of the Ministers, though not so obnoxious, were far from satisfactory—and he thought the meeting had better go on and tell the King so. Accordingly the thanks of the meeting went to the King coupled with new demands, so the King is half pleased, half stubborn.

I reported to my colleagues as soon as the decision was reached, that the King of his own motion had removed our chief cause of offence. They professed satisfaction, but the British Commissioner did not (I confess) seem particularly pleased that the matter had been settled without a joint intervention. It seemed to me that he felt deprived of an opportunity to make Great Britain useful in the affair.

The next morning we received notice that Governor Bush, Minister of the Interior, had been appointed to act as Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*. I received the notice on my way down town, and immediately took the British and French Commissioners into my carriage, and within twenty minutes after notice was received we paid our respects in person to the new Minister.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your most obt servt

The Honorable

Wm M Evarts

Secretary of State.

JAMES M COMLY.

APPENDIX B

STENOGRAPHIC NOTES OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE [JOHN W. FOSTER] AND MR. PAUL NEUMANN, AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, ON TUESDAY, FEB. 21, 1893.

(Hawaii—Notes—Vol. 4)

Mr. Neumann expressed his regrets that by misreading of the written directions of the Secretary's residence, he had been unable to find the Secretary the evening before, according to the appointment which had been made.

Mr. Neumann stated that he desired to ask the Secretary whether a paper which he had drawn up could go through the Secretary's hands to the Senate, now that the Treaty had gone to the Senate.

The Secretary asked the character of the paper.

Mr. Neumann replied that it was a statement he had prepared on behalf of the Queen, which was addressed to the Secretary and which he had intended to deliver personally to him.

The Secretary said that he had no objections to receiving any paper which Mr. Neumann might leave with him.

Mr. Neumann asked whether the paper could be sent to the Senate.

The Secretary, after reading the paper, said that it was addressed to him, and that if Mr. Neumann chose to leave it with him, he would take the President's orders as to what disposition should be made of it. He could not promise that it would be sent to the Senate without the President's instructions. Mr. Neumann, he said, came to him only in the character of a private individual.

Mr. Neumann replied, undoubtedly.

The Secretary said that, therefore, the communication he made to him could not as a matter of right or privilege be sent to the Senate. Whether it was of such a character as justified its transmission to the Senate, was a matter upon which he must take the President's directions.

Mr. Neumann said that he was under the impression that the Treaty having been sent to the Senate, he could not ask the Secretary to send the paper prepared by him; but, of course, he wanted it to go before the Senate. He did not claim any diplomatic character for his mission, since the United States had

recognized the Provisional Government. As far as the question of annexation was concerned, there were a great many of them, he said, in favor of the act, without being in favor of the Provisional Government. The Queen herself claims that the United States has no right to force a Government upon them without submitting it first to a popular vote.

The Secretary said that he (Mr. Neumann) was not then objecting so much to annexation as to the manner in which it was being accomplished.

Mr. Neumann said that on the part of the Queen he must, but that he was speaking generally of the feeling of the people. All the Commissioners were his personal friends and their character as citizens was very good, yet, if submitted to a vote, he did not think they could get more than one in ten.

The Secretary asked what was the character of the Commissioners that the Provisional Government had sent us.

Mr. Neumann replied un[ex]ceptional.

The Secretary asked whether their representations could be relied upon.

Mr. Neumann replied that he thought they could, but he did not know what representations were made to us. But, from the correspondence published, he did not think we had received correct information.

The Secretary said that the impression Mr. Neumann left on his mind was that the objection of the Hawaiian people was not so much to annexation as it was to the Government under which the annexation was being carried out.

Mr. Neumann replied, undoubtedly.

The Secretary asked if he regarded the restoration of the Queen to the throne practicable, under the circumstances.

Mr. Neumann replied,—Yes, providing it could be done under an American Protectorate.

The Secretary said,—You recognize [then] that her restoration should be under a protectorate of the United States.

Mr. Neumann [replied] that he would not ask it under any other circumstances.

Mr. Neumann stated that he was given a power of attorney from the Queen, giving him full authority to do anything he thought proper, and he regretted that he did not arrive in time to submit it.

The Secretary asked whether the power of attorney would extend to a recognition of annexation with some provision for the Queen's maintenance, so that Mr. Neumann would be author-

ized by her to agree to annexation of the Islands if proper provision was made for her maintenance.

Mr. Neumann replied,—Yes, for her and Kaiulani. There were no others but those two. Under the Hawaiian Constitution the family of the highest Chief in the land becomes eligible, but still he must be elected. If this family dies out, a new family is chosen. These two are the last of the family. The Queen left the matter entirely in his hands.

Mr. Neumann further said that, so far as they were concerned, they preferred to have an American Protectorate. If annexation did come, they would yield gracefully. But if it could be avoided and a Protectorate giving the United States absolute and exclusive control established, then they would prefer that.

The Secretary said,—But if that should not be deemed feasible by the United States, then you would accept annexation, if we made reasonable provision for the Queen?

Mr. Neumann: Yes, Sir. If the United States thinks it is a necessary step, we should have to yield, but we should not yield unwillingly. However, we do not want annexation that would leave the present Government there. For I can assure you that there has not been eighty or a hundred respectable men in Honolulu connected with the movement. All American citizens there are not in favor of the Government. I, myself, am an American citizen. There are many prominent men who are not in favor of it.

The Secretary: Would you, and your friends not be willing to trust the Congress of the United States to determine the form of Government they should establish if annexation could be carried out.

Mr. Neumann: I should say there would be no better judge.

The Secretary: Your opposition then, as I understand it, is not so much to annexation as it is to the Provisional Government that now exists.

Mr. Neumann: That is the objection that I and a large majority of the people have. But on behalf of the Queen I desire to have her restored to power, under the protection of the United States. But, if that cannot be done, I am willing to see annexation carried out, if the proper Government is given us and proper allowance [made] to the Queen. By the Treaty, I do not think we have received anything. The Queen receives \$65,000. per annum from the crown lands alone.

The Secretary: Then you regard the Treaty provisions as inadequate for the Queen. You could hardly expect when the

Queen lost her throne that she should be maintained in the same magnificence as before.

Mr. Neumann: If it had not been for Mr. Stevens and the landing of American troops, she would not have been dethroned. There is almost a unanimous friendly feeling in the Island towards America, and a larger part of the Islands want the United States to have full control.

The Secretary: You think it desirable that her restoration should only be upon those conditions?

Mr. Neumann: Yes, Sir. We do not wish, nor does the Queen wish to see the Islands taken by some other power.

The Secretary: I should be very glad, Mr. Neumann, to see you again, or receive any further information from you upon this subject. I will lay your paper before the President.

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